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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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## *SLAVERY AND SLAVE LIFE IN BRAZIL.*

BY JAMES REDPATH.

NO. I.

IS SLAVERY OF A "MILDER TYPE" IN BRAZIL?

How long can slavery endure in the new world? It still exists in Brazil, in Cuba and in Porto Rico. Somebody, not long ago, predicted that if the experiment of free labor in the Southern States should continue to be completely successful, negro slavery would be swept from the Western Hemisphere in less than a dozen of years. While some will regard this prediction as too sanguine, it expresses, without doubt, if not in the letter or at least in the spirit, the opinion of the majority of educated Americans.

Another opinion very generally held, and often expressed, is that slavery in Brazil is a milder type of bondage than the system which existed in our Southern States. I have never seen a denial or even any doubt expressed in regard to this universally accredited opinion. And yet a little reflection will cause any one, familiar with the essential nature of slavery, to pause and investigate before giving new currency to this belief. It will lead him to seek for the sources of the opinion, and to ascertain the causes that modify or rather that nullify the inherent tendencies of slavery—as manifested everywhere, in all ages and among all races of men—if, indeed, in Brazil these universal traits are not conspicuously discernible. One would naturally think that if Brazilian slavery *is* slavery—that is, if it gives the master absolute power over his negro slave—then Brazilian nature would not be human nature if the tenure of some millions of slaves did not yield a plentiful crop of cruelties and hardships and crimes.

And yet, the circumstances may so greatly modify men's power and control their passions—even when that power is nominally absolute—no careful observer of American slavery, or indeed of society anywhere, can deny. Thus, slavery in Louisiana was far harsher than slavery in Maryland; and Legree could not have done the deeds in Delaware which he might have perpetrated with impunity in South Carolina.

In examining the nature of slavery in Brazil, therefore, we ought first to discover its relation to the population, race, and territory, among and in which it exists.

THE POPULATION OF BRAZIL.

First in importance is the population; because, a vast numerical majority of slaves, by throwing around the negro the mantel of an ever-present dread, might have a tendency, other circumstances favoring, to make the master afraid to exercise his terrible authority with cruelty. Not necessarily so, because St. Domingo slavery was frightfully cruel, although when the revolution broke out in the island the whites did not number 40,000 in a population of half a million. But taken into consideration with the nature of the country—which, if as in Brazil, large and impenetrable, affording easy and frequent opportunities of escape, must tend to modify despotic power; and in connection, also, with the characteristics of race, which if, as is the case with the Brazilians, free from the prejudices of color, must somewhat soften the desire to render the institution perpetual—then, the element of population becomes the most important one in seeking to arrive at a correct knowledge of the subject.

There is no authentic census of Brazil in existence. The government estimates are confessedly official guesses only. Humbolt in 1825 reckoned the entire population of Brazil at about 4,000,000—of whom 920,000 were whites, 1,960,000 were negroes, and 1,120,000 were of mixed blood or native Indians. Thus, the proportion of the colored races to the white was about three to one. An English Parliamentary Report estimated the population on the 1st of January to be—whites, 1,000,000; free colored races, 500,000; slaves, 3,500,000—four to one. Christie, the last author who has written on Brazil, late Her Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary there, reports that the total population is about 7,000,000, and that the number of slaves is variously estimated at from 2,500,000 to 4,000,000. He states that this is the calculation of a laborious and well-informed writer in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of July, 1862, and takes 3,000,000 as a mean number and moderate estimate.

It is safe to say, therefore, that at least every other person in Brazil is a slave.

NO PREJUDICE OF COLOR.

Next comes the question of race antipathies. The result of our investigation has shown us that, to use the language of the Boston *Daily Advertiser*, "there is no country where the white and black races mingle, in which the field is so fair for the negro. It is true that slavery exists there; but it is equally true that it is a personal relation—that is, between master and slave, not between white man and black. 'Though in Brazil a slave is indeed a slave, yet a negro is not in the American sense a negro.' This is the language of a well-informed English author. In Brazil there is no social distinction between the black race and the white, resulting in the general proscription of the African. The races have fused—the result is equality. There exists a certain pride of purity of blood; but black blood is no bar whatever to advancement. The races intermarry—they associate without faction or jealousy. The negroes and the mulattoes hold offices of all grades in the army and navy."

"One result of this social fusion," says this same careful authority, "has been to make slavery more secure from insurrections than in other countries. As involuntary servitude is wholly a condition of life, not of race, there are as many negroes as whites who are slaveholders, and therefore they are as much interested in its perpetuation as our own chivalry in the palmiest days of the C. S. A. As good as the whites at the ballot-box, they are as bad as the whites in the slave quarters."

NUMEROUS CANADAS—BUT—

The vast extent of the country, its immense and impenetrable forests, the ease with which life is supported in the tropics by fruits and the chase—all conspire to render it tolerably safe and by no means difficult for fugitive slaves to maintain themselve in the depths of woods which everywhere invite them to seek their shelter. A paragraph in the last budget of news from Brazil will show that these arboral Canadas have already sheltered great numbers of negroes:

"The flight of slaves to the neutral district of Amapa, South of the Oyapok (preserved neutral by virtue of a Convention between France and Brazil), continues, and it is calculated that 6,000 or 7,000 refugees live independently there, like the Maroons in former times in Jamaica."

This relates to a special district, but everywhere there are smaller colonies of these people.

So far, so good. But, there hangs a doubt still. Despite the superior slave population, despite the fraternal character of the whites, despite the frequent opportunities of escape, human nature remains to be offset against them; human nature, which is everywhere unfit to be trusted with despotic power over unprotected and defenceless wards, for whom no tie of kindred or of a like social condition, is a partial guarantee of good treatment.

This doubt can only be resolved by a careful examination of all the evidence to be found in the books of travellers in Brazil—for here and there, in the newspapers of the day, an occasional paragraph gives one the hint that all is not gold that glitters in the Empire.

For example, read the two paragraphs that follow, both from trustworthy sources:

This—

"A deputation from the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society of London waited on Senor Andrada in March last. The Senor has been Secretary of the Brazilian Legation for some years, and was then charged with the superintendence of the Brazilian Consulate. He told the deputation that the Emperor himself, and all his Ministers, and all the Brazilian people, believe that it is a duty to humanity to abolish slavery. 'I can assure you,' he said, 'that not only the Emperor, but his government, his advisers, and every Brazilian possessing the feelings of humanity, think that it is not only the duty, but that it will be for the interest of the country, to abolish slavery.' And still again, 'The government and people of Brazil think it is their duty and their interest, as soon as they possibly can, *entirely* to abolish slavery.'"—*Boston Daily Advertiser.*

With this—

"In Bahia, on the 23d of November, a slave girl of 24 years of age was brought before the Chief of Police in consequence of horrible ill-usage by her master. She is described as being more like a corpse than a living being. She bore iron shackles on her ankles, fastened to a belt secured by a letter padlock, which she says she has carried for 10 years. Her sides and head were covered with old and recent cicatrices, made, according to the declarations, with red-hot iron, and her teeth torn out with a dow-key. She was again remitted to the hospital, and a prosecution commenced against her owner. The Brazilian law frees slaves who have been grossly maltreated by their owners."

—This and other like testimony induced us to investigate the character of slavery in Brazil.

A special examination of almost every important book of travel and of reference on Brazil that has been published in France, England and America during the last two centuries—a careful study of every passage that relates to slavery, directly or indirectly, in the volumes of the great public libraries of Boston—has led us to believe, in the first place, that slavery in the Southern Empire has undergone little or no change for two generations past; that nothing of any importance has been done to ameliorate its acknowledged and inevitable evils; and, in the next place, that whether we regard its influence on the white man or the negro, the planter or the poor white, its social or its moral aspects, it is entitled to no pre-eminence whatever in point of humanity, over the system which the war for the Union trod out of existence. If it is milder than the old South Carolina or Louisiana slavery, it is not milder than the Missouri or the North Carolina system.

FIFTY YEARS AGO.

[1817]. Henry Koster has enabled us to know slavery as it was in Brazil, half a century ago, more perfectly than any more modern writer has enabled us to know slavery as it is to-day. Koster was a friend of Southey, to whom he dedicates his books. He is described by his cotemporary reviewers as a "thorough-bred planter;" he relates, without any feeling of contrition, that he bought, worked, and punished slaves; but his fairness in treating all subjects that fell under his notice, entitle his accounts to credit. He treats of negroes incidentally in his first volume, here and there, as incidents came under his observation; but in his second volume he devotes a long chapter specially to slavery in Brazil. His statements have the stamp of a perfect candor, and are confirmed, in parts, by almost every author that I have consulted, even by such writers as Gardner, who was a partisan of a class. Those traits which other authors do not notice, have been developed in Southern slavery, and are described by Mr. Christie as distinguishing the Brazilian system of to-day.

We will, therefore, give a somewhat extended synopsis of Mr. Koster's testimony.

LEGREE IN BRAZIL.

Mr. Koster describes how a plantation tenanted by Brazilian slaves was brought into subjection by a Portuguese driver. More than one steward, or driver, had been killed by these negroes, and for time they remained without any person to quiet them; but still they did not leave the place. When things had gone on in this manner for some time, a native of Portugal presented himself to the proprietor of the estate and offered to take charge of it if he would allow him a salary of about £250 annually, which was an enormous stipend; and if he would also sign an agreement by which he should not become responsible for any slaves who might be killed in reducing the remainder to obedience. The contract was made, and the Portuguese, with a guide and two friends—all amply provided with firearms and ammunition—set out for the estate, and took up their lodgings in the principal house. In the morning, on discovering the intentions of these new comers, several of the negroes assembled at a little distance in front of the house. The new steward came to the door unarmed, and, as if nothing had happened, called to one of the ringleaders of the negroes by name. The man advanced from the group, but refused to come nearer. Without a word, the steward seized a loaded musket, which he had concealed near by, and shot down the negro. He called another of the men, who gave no answer. The concealed friends of the driver then advanced, and the whole party fired into the group of slaves. "Such," says the author, "such was the effect of this summary manner of proceeding, that in one or two days all was quiet and went on smoothly—a few only of the slaves absconding."

STORIES OF RUNAWAY SLAVES.

Mr. Koster relates two incidents of runaway slaves, both of which illustrate, not the character of slavery only, but the greater social freedom at that time enjoyed by the free colored people of Brazil over the same class of persons in the United States. Indeed, in this respect the position of the colored people of Brazil is pre-eminently preferable to those of the United States. But this is a matter, not of laws, but of race.

A mulatto slave ran away from his master, and in the course of years became a wealthy man, by the purchase of lands which were overrun with cattle. He had, on one occasion, collected in pens great numbers of oxen, which he was arranging with his herdsmen to dispatch to different parts for sale. A stranger, travelling alone, came up to him and said that he wished to have a private conversation. After a little time they retired. The owner of the estate said to the stranger, "I thank you for not mentioning the connection between us while my people were present." The stranger was his master, who had fallen into distressed circumstances, and had now made this visit in hopes of obtaining some trifle from him. He said that he would be grateful for anything that his slave chose to give to him. As he was in his old slave's power, who might have killed him at once, he did not think of reclaiming him. The slave gave his master several hundred oxen, and sent a man to drive them to market for him.

The next picture is not so pleasant.

A negro and his wife had escaped from slavery, and their master had not received any tidings of them for sixteen or seventeen years. He supposed that both of them were dead. But one day there arrived at his door in Recife a number of *capitans-de-campo* with several persons in custody. The master soon recognized his negro and negress, and he was told that the five young persons who were with them were their children, and his slaves. "These poor creatures had been brought up until this period of their lives with the idea that they were free, and thus a young man of sixteen and his sister of fourteen years of age were at this season of joy and gladness to commence a life of misery." The master seized them, imprisoned them, and sold them all to Maranham.

Maranham is to the Pernambuco what Louisiana was to the Virginian negro—their terror. "Nothing," says our author, "nothing tends so much to keep a slave in awe as the threat of sending him to Maranham or Para."

FEUDALISM AND PLANTATION MANNERS.

Koster, from his own experience, testified that great planters exercised feudal powers. He had great power, not over his own slaves only, but over free persons of lower rank. He incidentally gives one illustration of the effects of this irresponsible authority. One evening a young man of color was preparing to carry home his marketing, when one of these "lords of the plantation" rode up. When he came near the mulatto he struck him with his cane, and cried out, "Why don't you take off your hat when a white man appears?"

Thus far, the incident might have happened in any Southern State; but not the conclusion of it. The mulatto drew his knife and sheathed it in the groin of his assailant. With his bloody knife in his hand, he ran off, threatening any one who should attempt to capture him. To his credit be it recorded that the planter improved the few minutes that elapsed before he died in requesting that the murderer should not be pursued, and admitting that he had provoked his fate. In a few weeks the mulatto returned, and was neither molested by the law nor by the relatives of his victim. They manage these things differently down South.

## *OUTRAGES IN TEXAS.*

FLAKE'S Galveston *Bulletin* of February 24th, publishes authenticated statements of outrages on Union men in Leon county, Texas. Among others is the following:

MIDDLETON, LEON CO., TEXAS, Feb. 20, 1867.

I, John H. Potts, of the county of Houston, and State of Texas, and United States Commissioner for the Western district of said State, having visited the plantation of Mr. Green K. Cesna, which was occupied by some freedmen in his absence, there found the most horrible sight that my eyes ever beheld. His dwelling-house, together with all his household furniture, and several cabins or outhouses, were burned to ashes; one freed-boy, about seventeen years old, shot and murdered so near the house that his clothes were burnt entirely up, and his body horribly burned; a little boy, ten years of age, burned to death in the house, his bones found among the ashes; and two freedmen were shot (and the physicians say mortally wounded) at the same time, by three lawless desperadoes, one of whom claims to be a resident of Leon county, and the other two claim to be residents of Kauffman county. I will farther certify that I believe the arm of civil law to be too short to apprehend and bring these persons to justice, owing to the great prejudice that exists towards the freedmen and Union men of this section. It is true there are many who do not countenance this horrid act; but they have already disqualified themselves as jurors by witnessing the scene and by openly expressing themselves. I would further state that, for the security of the freedmen and loyal white men, and to prevent further outrages of like character by the hands of those murderers and house-burners, a small force of United States soldiers is greatly needed in this section. A few cavalry would strike terror to these prowling murderers and house-burners. JOHN J. POTTS.

I fully concur in the above statement.

W. B. MIDDLETON, Leon county.

## *THE INDUSTRIAL INTERESTS OF THE SOUTH.*

IN an article on the "Industrial Interests of the South," the Philadelphia *Press* says:

Where the great natural rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness are denied to a large portion of a community, and where education is not only neglected but prevented by the riotous destruction of school-houses and the persecution of school-teachers, there can be little hope of rapid advancement. No portion of the globe is more richly endowed by nature with the prime elements of wealth than the unreconstructed States. Whether we regard the facilities for commercial intercourse which are furnished by their extensive sea-coast and numerous navigable rivers, the varied capacities of their soil, the vastness of their valuable forests, or the variety and quality of their minerals, we see unnumbered evidences of native resources. Their development would furnish profitable employment for centuries to many millions of people properly organized and protected. The South, however, was never really prosperous under her old slave system. She was deeply in debt, her arable lands were rapidly being exhausted, and her politicians, to explain the poverty which they could not conceal, invented the ridiculous doctrine that she was systematically plundered by the North. This miserable fallacy, constantly repeated by unscrupulous or ignorant demagogues, until it gained general credence, was one of the most popular and powerful arguments used in favor of secession. Emancipation, if fairly sustained, will confer upon the South pecuniary benefits even greater than the pecuniary injuries which she has suffered from the mad and wicked schemes of her desperate leaders. But slavery must be fully destroyed, reconstruction based on the principles of liberty and justice, and the machinery of the local governments, whether military or civil, actively exercised for the welfare and protection of society. After the war, tens of thousands of useful, industrious, and energetic citizens of the Northern States were anxious to establish themselves in the South as merchants, mechanics, miners, farmers, or planters. A mighty army was ready to follow them if they had been moderately successful, and to build up the shattered fortunes of the whole arena of the rebellion as rapidly as Missouri is even now being enriched. This opportunity for immediate industrial reorganization, and for the immediate commencement of a new era of prosperity, which would have far surpassed the wildest dreams of the old slavery propagandists, was blindly and wickedly rejected. The persecutions, insults and outrages to which thousands who made this experiment were subjected, have become familiar to the American people. Northern men were compelled to share with the freedmen, and the white Southern Unionist, the mortifications and dangers of the bitter discovery that loyalty, instead of being an inviolable passport and protection, is a source of constant danger; that, while the worst criminals who fought against the country escape unwhipt of justice, devotion to its cause is regarded and punished as an inexpiable offence in all the unreconstructed States. The authority of the provisional governments is, directly or indirectly, centered in the hands of the unprogressive, the indolent, and the rebellious. Their highest type of a social, political, and industrial organization was found in the old Southern system—and this having been destroyed in spite of their bitter opposition, their principal objects now are to preserve as far as possible, its ruins, to obstruct a just reorganization, and to verify their predictions that emancipation would prove a failure. While they are crying "Peace! peace!" to disarm the North, they are prosecuting against every citizen who is not at heart a rebel a relentless war. Under their auspices the resources of the South would remain neglected, and her proper development be indefinitely postponed. If we were to ignore the necessity of preventing the establishment of a cordon of rebel State governments, bound together in all their departments by a common sympathy with the rebellion, and a common hatred of its conquerors, and if we regarded the question of reconstruction merely with reference to its effects upon material wealth, it is manifest that the perpetuation of the power of the men who have hitherto ruled and ruined the South, would be as inimical to her industrial interests, as to the safety of the nation.

## *IMPARTIAL SUFFRAGE.*

From the N. Y. Times.

MISSOURI and Minnesota, through their Legislatures, have affirmed the principle of impartial suffrage. In Ohio, Illinois and Michigan the Legislatures have refused to obliterate caste distinctions, by the adaptation of their Constitutions to the altered circumstances of the country. These adverse decisions are inexplicable, in view of the action of the Republican party in Congress, and the position it has assumed on the suffrage question. After enfranchising the colored citizens of the District of Columbia, and forcing upon the South their universal enfranchisement, it is difficult to imagine any plea with which the Northern States may justify the present disability on account of color. Certainly there is no consistency in the course of the Legislatures controlled by large Republican majorities, after the formal promulgation of the Republican policy in the halls of Congress. If the party has any distinctive principle, the principle of impartial suffrage must be considered peculiarly its own. It has proclaimed it part of the groundwork of national reorganization, by enacting it wherever Congressional authority extends. And the States composing Congress cannot decently refuse to ratify in their individual capacity the principle to which they have given effect by their aggregate authority. If the blacks of Georgia are entitled to votes, and are intrusted with them without any qualification, on what pretence are the blacks of Ohio, Illinois and Michigan to remain branded with political inferiority?

## *THE SOUTH.*

TESTIMONY OF GEN. SCHOFIELD.

THE following is a part of the testimony of Gen. Schofield before the South Carolina Investigating Committee:

*Question.* How is it about punishing offences by means of civil laws in Virginia, when they have been committed on men who have the reputation of being Union men, or freedmen, in respect to offences committed on soldiers?

*Answer.* I do not think there are any cases in which offences against soldiers have gone before State courts at all. There are very few cases reported to me in which offences have been committed against men alleged to be Union men. I know some one or two of these cases, where persons report alleged injustice in relations of that kind—that is, failures on the part of the State courts to punish men who have committed assaults on Union men; but that distinction is comparatively rare in Virginia, as far as I have been able to learn. But cases of hostility and outrage of one kind and another by white men upon freedmen are common, and in almost all such cases the State courts fail to do justice—that is, fail to punish white men for assaults and outrages committed upon freedmen.

*Q.* What is the difficulty? Is it in the arrest and punishment, or in the disposition of the men who try them?

*A.* In the disposition of magistrates and jurors. When it is a civil question alone, a question of money, uninfluenced by any other question, I think they almost always do justice to the freedmen; but when that question is affected by the allegation upon the part of white men of insubordination, or disrespect, or insolence on the part of the colored man, that allegation will justify him in the opinion of the local magistrates, or jurors, for inflicting upon freedmen any punishment he may see fit, either by driving them off the plantation without wages, or, as has been done in some cases, shooting them.

*Q.* The principal difficulty, then, is the administration of justice among freedmen?

*A.* That is the difficulty.

*Q.* Can you discover no remedy in the courts?

*A.* I think at present no speedy remedy can be expected from the civil courts of Virginia. Report says that the higher courts, almost without exception, do justice as between whites and blacks; but that the lower magistrates, who are elected by the people, and the jurors, scarcely ever do justice to the black man against the white.

*Q.* And these lower courts are the principal ones that try criminal cases?

*A.* Yes, sir; they dispose of nearly all cases in which the black men are concerned. The black man is too poor to carry it to the higher courts. Practically, if the employer on a plantation choose to drive the colored man off without his wages, alleging that he was insolent, or insubordinate, or neglectful of his duty, he is without remedy.

## *THE BLACK MAN AT THE POLLS.*

From the Missouri Democrat.

THE solution of the national problem was foreshown in miniature in the District of Columbia the other day. Georgetown was redeemed by Radical votes. It was shown that the colored men know better than to vote with the pro-slavery party, and that white men and colored men can both vote without "a war of races." Probably there was some danger of disorder to be guarded against, but it was easily guarded against, and effectually. There was never a more peaceful election. The same thing can be repeated on a grand scale. As to the apprehension of "a war of races" in such an event, the Georgetown experiment also furnishes a striking illustration of the facility with which even prejudiced whites become ashamed of their prejudice, and lose all their aversion to seeing the negro at the ballot-box. A correspondent who visited the polls on the occasion named says:

"A venerable colored citizen gives us a ticket of the kind he voted. It had at the top a picture of the black man's friend, Father Abraham. Passing on to one poll, we found an orderly crowd, about one-fourth blacks. Policemen were stationed at the window where the tickets were handed in, but this display of uniforms and clubs appeared to be entirely unnecessary, unless it was to curb the rebellious spirit of the 'secesh,' who indicated their opposition by wry faces and contemptuous mein."

One of them broke out in this strain: "These damn niggers only had to present themselves to the board of registry and certify that they were residents of Georgetown, and they were enrolled, but we white folks had to answer a lot of questions, such as 'Did you aid or assist the rebellion?' and we had to swear we were loyal. "At another poll in the adjoining ward the colored voters numbered four-fifths. They were ranged in a long line and voted in turn. Two negro voters made a tally of each voter, and two others stood ready to vouch for any voter of whom there might be any doubt in identity or name. A more orderly election I never saw, and this was also the testimony of the gentleman with me, who is an old pro-slavery Democrat. He came away saying: "These men are intelligent enough to vote, respectable enough; more decently behaved men I never saw; they are loyal, and what is the reason they should not vote? There is no reason." In fact, he grew decidedly enthusiastic in favor of universal suffrage, and boldly announced that henceforth he was on the side of justice and right, and should array himself against the party of prejudice and caste. Every negro had a smile on his face, but no taunts or boasting was heard.

## *THE POLITICAL SITUATION.*

"I CALL this a baby session." Such was the epithet, half sneer, I heard made this morning in relation to the present Congress. The remark was made, not out of political antagonism, but from disgust at the want of decision everywhere visible. There is less courage than prudence in the policy now adopted; or, rather, it would be more just to say, the want of a policy. Few persons can tell what Congress remains for if it is not to do the work which the people desire—push forward the investigation, and, if necessary, the impeachment, of Andrew Johnson. But the indecision is not so surprising, for what other result can come from the constant trafficking now going on between the White House and Republican Senators and Representatives. "There is not a Republican on this floor," said a member of the House to me yesterday, "but believes Mr. Johnson guilty of high crimes and misdemeanors; but it is a question of policy whether he shall be impeached or not. I think him guilty, but do not believe it wise to go on with the investigation." If a Representative gets his candidate for assessor, or a Senator his brother made a judge, is not the presumption strong in favor of his being still more convinced of the impolitic course of those advocating impeachment? If a Senator's father-in-law has Presidential aspirations, and believes they may be injured should the present presiding officer of the Senate become, by any chance, acting chief executive, are not his views likely to be affected? If other Senators have direct aspirations thereto, will not they affect them in a similar fashion?

Every string is being deftly pulled. The sole aim of Mr. Johnson is to prevent impeachment. He will do almost any small thing to win a Radical against that action. At any rate, if that ghost is laid, there is the future of nearly two years' unexpired Presidential power, with tariff, taxation, repudiation, "aristocracy of bonds," etc., to harp upon. In the meanwhile, he hopes to at least arrest, by seeming acquiescence in the inevitable, the normal development of the to-be reorganized Southern States, stop them short of New England, and make counterparts of Maryland and Delaware. Congress seems, by its indecision on the great question of the hour, to be playing into his hands. He is fighting to keep as much as he can.—*Washington Cor. of the Commonwealth.*

## *BOSTON CITY GOVERNMENT ON COLOR.*

REPORT ON AFFIXING THE WORD "COL." TO NAMES ON TAX-BILLS AND VOTING-LISTS.

PETITION

*To the Honorable Board of Aldermen and Members of the Common Council:*

GENTLEMEN: Your petitioners, colored citizens of Ward 3, in the city of Boston, respectfully ask that the word "col." be omited from the *Voting-Lists* and from our *Tax-Bills*, for the following reasons:

First, We believe that it is an unnecessary appendage, and calculated to uphold an old spirit of caste which is detrimental to the best interests of our community.

Second, We believe it is an obstacle in the way of perfect equality in the distribution of the municipal patronage.

| | |
|---|---|
| BENJAMIN F. ROBERTS, | PETER HAWKINS, |
| IRA N. GRAY, | JOHN H. HAWKINS, |
| WM. A. HOPKINS, | JOSEPH S. HAWKINS, |
| JAS. M. TROTTER, | PETER E. HAWKINS, |
| RICHARD S. BROWN, | NATHANIEL ADAMS, |
| S. A. HANCOCK, | PHILIP RUSSELL, |
| W. H. CHRISTOPHER, | GEO. H. W. STEWART, |
| H. E. JOHNSON, | JOHN B. BAILEY, |
| G. F. BARBEAU, | GEO. H. WASHINGTON, |
| SIMPSON H. LEWIS, | JAS. J. GARDNER, |
| W. N. COLSON, | ROBERT R. STEVENS, |
| W. T. KING, | JOHN K. GIBBS, |

Boston, Feb. 5, 1867.

CITY OF BOSTON,

In Board of Aldermen, Feb. 25, 1867.

The Special Committee to whom was referred the petition of Benjamin F. Roberts and twenty-three others, colored citizens of Ward Three, in the city of Boston, asking that the word "*col.*" (colored) be omitted from the voting-lists and from their tax-bills, having given a hearing to the petitioners, and such other citizens as were disposed to be present, respectfully

REPORT:

The prayer of the petitioners is in accordance with the spirit of the times, as well as in harmony with the republicanism which recognizes all citizens as standing upon the same equality before the law. One by one the distinctions which have separated the colored citizen from his white associates have been removed; the distinctive car, the negro pew, the separate school, exclusion from the militia, exclusion from the jury-box, denial of a seat at places of public amusement, of conveyance in public carriages, with separation from other residents in the City Directory, have in turn been prohibited by positive law or have yielded to a more just interpretation of individual and official duty.

Our colored citizens ask simply that no discrimination shall be made against them any more than against any other class of citizens. They do not ask that the word "Irish" shall be affixed against the names of their adopted fellow-citizens; they did not favor the use of the word "alien" against the same class, as in former times; they wish no terms or phrases of distinction against any class of voters; but they cannot see why, if they are longer to be denominated as "colored," the foreign-born, the near-sighted, the bald-headed, the varied complexioned, or the strongly marked haired, should not with equal propriety be also designated. In other words, they want to submit to the same disabilities, and none other, that affect other classes of citizens, and to enjoy the same privileges and rights, and none other, that inure to other classes of citizens. They say with truth and propriety that they are well-known and orderly persons; that they pay their taxes without murmuring; serve on the jury with fidelity; perform military duty when asked with alacrity; are ready to quell riots and insurrections when their services are required; and, in short, whatever the good citizen is expected to do, they want to do, having no particular noise made about it, and no attention directed towards them when they pay their taxes or vote, any more than is associated with any other portion of the people.

The Committee cannot see that their request is not perfectly natural and proper. In this era of liberal legislation towards the colored race, surely our city does not wish to show a prejudice or deny a perfect equality. Congress has been much exercised to secure the freedom and social rights of those lately held as slaves; the State Legislature has made it a penal offence to exclude any portion of the community from hotels, conveyances, places of amusement, etc., except "for cause;" and we lately have seen in one of the Wards of the city the beautiful spectacle of true fraternity and entire freedom from bias in one of the political parties, not hitherto generally regarded as the especial friend of this race, rallying its entire strength to the support of a colored man for the present City government; while in a neighboring city of our country the same party, in caucus, unanimously sustained a worthy and talented colored man for Mayor. With this consistent legislative and political action, there can be no considerable number of our citizens who will object to the realization of the petitioners.

It may be suggested, however, that the designation complained of has been a measure of security to the colored voter, in that he was more readily distinguished and identified, was more easily found by his political friends, etc. But no more so, it may be answered, than those who have a prefix to their names of a single syllable, whose origin is never recorded on the lists. And even this slight advantage—if it be such—should not weigh for a moment against the sensitiveness of the individual citizen who condemns this mark of distinction as subjecting him to prejudice and obloquy. The risks of mistake as to identity are not half so probable as the wounding of the feelings of those so designated.

Your Committee cannot learn that there is any defence for thus designating colored citizens save that of custom. But it is a custom that we should forego, both because it is right that we should, and because it is objectionable to a large class of citizens. It was formerly the custom for the Directory-makers, as we have already suggested, to place the colored residents by themselves at the end of their volume. The custom became obsolete when a just and sensible man became the publisher; and no one will say any inconvenience followed. Such, we cannot doubt, will be the result of the abolition of the term on the tax-bills and voting-lists.

In justice to the Board of Assessors, and other officers having connection with taxation and the voting-lists, it should be said that the custom complained of, though of long practice, had its origin probably in no invidiousness, but for purposes of identification solely.

Holding the views above expressed, your Committee respectfully ask the passage of the following order.

CHAS. W. SLACK, NEWTON TALBOT, } *Special Committee.*

ORDERED: That in designating the citizens of Boston, liable to be assessed for taxes and entitled to the privilege of voting, the abbreviation of "*col.*" for the word "colored" be hereafter omitted both upon the tax-bills and voting-lists.

## *THE RECONSTRUCTION BILL.*

THE *Tribune*, in noticing Mr. Drake's amendments to the Reconstruction bill, says:

Two amendments, offered by Mr. Drake, to the Supplementary Reconstruction bill, were the subject of an interesting debate in the Senate yesterday. The first amendment provided that at the first election held in each State the registered voters should vote for or against a State Convention, and that it should be held or not held as the majority decided. The bill provides that the members of the Convention shall decide whether the people want a State constitution, but Mr. Drake argued that the people should by direct vote declare their wishes. He was in favor of guarding the Southern people from the possibility of betrayal by their leaders, and was sustained by Mr. Howard, who thought the amendment would fully submit to the people of the South the terms of reconstruction proposed by Congress, and enable them to plainly declare whether they were willing to comply with them. Mr. Morton believed that both the amendment and the bill were wrong in allowing the voters to decide whether a Convention should be held and a constitution formed, and that it was only necessary to consult them as to the ratification of the latter. Mr. Fessenden argued that the duty of calling a convention should not be imposed upon the District Commander, on the ground that it was a compulsory method of forming a constitution, and that the rebel States should not be obliged to act upon the offer the government had made. Mr. Trumbull, speaking for the Judiciary Committee, thought the provision in the bill that the constitution must be ratified by a majority of the registered voters, sufficient to insure a true expression of the wishes of the people, and in this belief the Senate disagreed to the amendment by 27 to 17, the Democrats and Johnson men voting against it.

Mr. Drake's second amendment, to the effect that no state constitution should be valid unless it provided for elections by close ballot, and agreed that such mode of voting should not be changed without the assent of Congress, raised an important question—whether the States, after admission to the Union, would not have the legal right to strike such provision from their constitutions. Mr. Drake defended his amendment on the ground that such a provision would be an express contract with the government, and that its violation by any State would be legal reason for the expulsion of its representatives from Congress. He was opposed by Mr. Conkling, who quoted a decision of the Supreme Court that any condition exacted as a condition for the admission of a State, ceased to bind after the State became a sovereign member of the Union. The proposition to enforce a secret ballot was opposed by Mr. Trumbull, Mr. Wilson, and Mr. Buckalew, who held that it would encourage fraud, and be no protection to the people. But that which seems of most importance is whether Congress has the authority to impose conditions upon the rebel States which shall be binding after their restoration to the Union. This opens a discussion not only upon the amendment of Mr. Drake, but upon the whole bill, and shows the probable uncertainty of the plan of reconstruction Congress has proposed. If the rebel States, after their restoration, have the right to strike out any part of their constitutions which Congress required them to insert, they have the right to strike out all that Congress has required. This is a question of extreme gravity, and one which seems to have impressed the Senate, though no direct allusion was made to it in the debate. Without acting on Mr. Drake's amendment, the Senate adjourned, and we may expect careful consideration of Mr. Morton's suggestion that the clause requiring that the State constitutions shall provide for voting by secret ballot, should be considered separately from that which asserts the right of Congress to make such a condition binding in the future.

## *SENATOR SUMNER'S VIEWS.*

Washington Correspondence of the Boston Commonwealth.

IF the resolutions yesterday debated in the Senate could be adopted, the end of the struggle were near. Sooner or later they must come. This the Senator well knows, and such a vote as that given does not dishearten him. His hope is always faithful, and always encourages. There was great significance in that debate, which held your correspondent in close attention till its close. Let me give you the resolutions here, and at the same time outline the debate:

Resolutions declaring certain further guarantees required in the reconstruction of the rebel States.

1. Resolved, That Congress, in declaring by positive legislation that it possesses paramount authority over the rebel States, and in prescribing that no person therein shall be excluded from the elective franchise by reason of race, color, or previous condition, has begun the work of reconstruction, and has set an example to itself.

2. Resolved, That there are other things remaining to be done, which are as clearly within the power of Congress as the elective franchise, and it is the duty of Congress to see that these things are not left undone.

3. Resolved, That among the the things remaining to be done are the four following:

First, The existing governments, which have been declared to be illegal, must be vacated, so that they can have no agency in the work of reconstruction, and will cease to exercise a pernicious influence.

Secondly, Provisional governments must be constituted as temporary substitutes for the illegal governments, with special authority to superintend the transition to permanent governments republican in form.

Thirdly, As loyalty, beyond suspicion, must be the basis of permanent governments republican in form, every possible precaution must be adopted against rebel agency or influence in the formation of these governments.

Fourthly, As the education of the people is essential to the national welfare, and especially to the development of those principles of justice and morality which constitute the foundation of republican government, and as, according to the census, an immense proportion of the people in the rebel States, without distinction of color, cannot read and write, therefore public schools must be established for the equal good of all.

Fifthly, Not less important than education is the homestead, which must be secured to the freedman, so that at least every head of a family may have a piece of land.

4. Resolved, That all these requirements are in the nature of guarantees to be exacted by Congress, without which the United States will not obtain that security for the future which is essential to a just reconstruction.

The easy-going Senators, men who like to ask Andrew Johnson for judgeships, think in their secret hearts that the Senator from Massachusetts is the embodiment of the scourge which implies that there is "no peace for the wicked,"—or "the weak," might well have been added. Mr. Sumner fully realizes that "Unfinished questions have no pity for the repose of mankind;" and it is because he so emphatically makes his colleagues feel its force that he is not the best-beloved man in the Senate Chamber.

Mr. Williams of Oregon, a man of first-rate legal ability, who stands by the precedents as much as it is possible for a Western man to do who has not

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yet reached fifty, desired to send the resolutions to the tomb—the Judiciary Committee. But courtesy stood in the way, as Mr. Sumner desired to debate them. Some time in my "pin-feather" State I was under an impression that Mr. Sumner was not a good extemporaneous speaker. That is a great mistake; no readier debater sits in the Chamber. This grows out of wide reading as well as great experience. Yesterday's debate was an excellent example of the Senator's power. His opening statements were lucid, clear and direct, analyzing each proposition, and demonstrating from his standpoint their practicability. During the course of the debate he carried on a warm and interesting interlocutory debate with Fessenden, Grimes and Trumbull, principally about the homestead requirement.

Of course Sherman rose to reply. He always does so when Sumner has one of his propositions pending. To oppose the Massachusetts Senator, and finally after a long struggle to vote for the principles he sustains, is one of the peculiar attributes of Mr. Sherman. He, and those like him, are the Republican party's "Old Man of the Sea." Sherman seems to think Mr. Sumner is the Sinbad about whose neck it is his duty (hypothetically, at least) to hang, for fear he might go too far and drive everything overboard. The substance of the "Buckeye's" argument was that we had just made a settlement, and should adhere thereto, without laying "new burdens" on the South.

Reverdy Johnson followed in the same view. That was to be expected. He supported the Military bill because he was sagacious enough to perceive it afforded some chance of the South halting at Maryland instead of New England.

The New Jersey "*rhertor*" (as our friend Gurowski would have called him), Frelinghuysen, moved to lay the resolutions on the table, a fate much more desirable than to bury them in Trumbull's committee would have been. He, however, withdrew it in order to enable Mr. Sumner to reply to the Ohio Senator. This was a good thing; for it gave us not only a vigorous defence of himself by reminding Mr. Sherman of many occasions when he had similarly opposed measures which he afterward voted for, but to rise to a strain of indignant eloquence when alluding to the charge of imposing burdens on the South. Let me give the glowing sentences with which the Senator closed:

"A great orator told us on one occasion that he had one lamp by which his steps were guided, and that was the lamp of experience. There is one great experience on this question, commanding, historic, which illumines this age. It is more than a lamp—it is like the sunshine. It is the example afforded to us in that great act of emancipation by the Emperor of Russia when he set free twenty million serfs. Did he stop merely by giving them their freedom? No! he went further, and provided for their education, and also provided that each should have a piece of land. And now when I ask that my country, a Republic, heir of all the ages, foremost in the tide of time, should do on this question only what the Emperor of Russia has done, I am met here by grave Senators with the argument that I am imposing new burdens upon late rebels. No, sir, it is no such thing. I am only asking new securities for my country, to the end that it may be safe, great and glorious."

Mr. Frelinghuysen, however, raised his voice against disturbing the newly-adjusted balance. He is of the Whig school, and has its tendency to half-way measures. The New Jersey Senator has the "rhetorical imagination," and likes to display it. He is the oftenest on his legs of any man in the Senate, and is as *new* to it, certainly.

Sherman undertook to reply, defending himself from inconsistency by indirectly affirming that Mr. Sumner had not stated the position correctly. Then Mr. Howard closed the debate in opposition to the resolutions. He also was for waiting on that which is no settlement. The vote upon laying on the table is worth nothing. It stood 36 to 10, 7 being absent. Of the majority the Republicans were Anthony, Cameron, Cattell, Chandler, Conkling, Conness, Corbett, Cragin, Drake, Ferry, Frelinghuysen, Harlan, Henderson, Howard, Morgan, Morrill (of Vt.), Patterson (of N. H.), Ramsey, Ross, Sherman, Sprague, Stewart, Trumbull, Willey, Van Winkle and Williams—26. Those against were Messrs. Cole, Howe, Morton, Pomeroy, Sumner, Thayer, Tipton, Wade, Wilson, Yates—10. A majority of the absentees would have voted with the minority—Edmunds, Fowler, Grimes, Morrill (of Me.) and Nye. The first two and latter would without doubt have gone with Mr. Sumner. Seventeen or eighteen men constitute the full radical strength in the Senate; that is, the men who are not more or less affected by banking, commercial or other interests growing out of patronage.

### *THE SUPPLEMENTAL RECONSTRUCTION.*

Mr. Trumbull reported from the Judiciary Committee the following substitute for the House supplemental bill to the Reconstruction bill:

An act supplementary to an act entitled "An act to provide for the more efficient government of the rebel States, passed March 2, 1867, and to facilitate restoration."

Be it enacted, etc., That before the first day of September, 1867, the commanding General in each district, defined by an act to provide for the more efficient government of the United States, approved March 2, 1867, shall cause a registration to be made of the male citizens of the United States, twenty-one years of age and upwards, resident in each county or parish in the State or States included in his district, which shall include only those persons who are qualified to vote for delegates by the act aforesaid, and who shall have taken and subscribed to the following oath or affirmation:

"I, ——, in the county or parish of ——, in the State of ——, do hereby solemnly swear (or affirm) that I am not excluded from the right to vote by the fifth or sixth section of the act to provide for the more effectual government of the rebel States; that I will support the Constitution and obey the laws of the United States, and that I will, to the best of my ability, encourage all others to do the same. So help me God."

Which oath (or affirmation) may be administered by any registering officer.

Section 2. That after the completion of the registration hereby provided for in any State, at such time and places therein as the commanding general shall appoint and direct, of which at least thirty days' notice shall be given, an election shall be held of delegates to a convention for the purpose of establishing a Constitution and civil government for such State loyal to the Union, said Convention in each State, except Virginia, to consist of the same number of members as the most numerous branch of the State Legislature of such State in the year 1860, to be apportioned among the several districts, counties, or parishes of such States by the commanding general, giving to each representation in the ratio of voters registered as aforesaid as nearly as may be. The Convention in Virginia shall consist of the same number as represented in the territory now constituting Virginia in the most numerous branch of the Legislature of said State in the year 1860, to be apportioned as aforesaid.

Section 3. That the commanding general of each district shall appoint such loyal officers or persons as may be necessary, not exceeding three in each elective district in any State, to make and complete the registration, superintend the election and make return to him of the votes, list of voters, and of the persons elected as delegates by a plurality of the votes cast at said election; and upon receiving said returns, he shall open the same, ascertain the persons elected as delegates according to the returns of the officers who conducted said election, and make proclamation thereof; and within sixty days from the date of election, he shall notify the delegates to assemble in convention at a time and place to be mentioned in the notification, and said Convention, when organized, shall first determine by a vote whether it is the wish of the people of each State to frame a Constitution and civil government, according to the provisions of this act, and the act to which it is a supplement, and if so shall proceed to frame such Constitution, and when the same shall have been so framed, said Constitution shall be submitted by the Convention for ratification to the persons registered under the provisions of this act, at an election to be conducted by the officers or persons appointed by the commanding General, as heretofore provided, and to be held after the expiration of thirty days from the date of notice thereof, to be given by said Convention; and the returns thereof shall be made to the commanding general of the district.

Section 4, That if, according to said returns, the Constitution shall be ratified by a majority of the votes of the electors, qualified as herein specified, the president of the Convention shall transmit a copy of the same, duly certified, to the President of the United States, who shall forthwith transmit the same to Congress, if then in session, and if not in session, then immediately upon its next assembling; and if the said Constitution shall be declared by Congress to be in conformity with the provisions of the act to which this is supplementary, the State shall be declared entitled to representation, and Senators and Representatives shall be admitted therefrom as therein provided.

Section 5, That all elections in the States mentioned in the said act to provide for the more efficient government of the rebel States, shall, during the operation of said act, be by ballot, and all officers making the said registration of voters, and conducting said elections, shall, before entering upon the discharge of their duties, take and subscribe to an oath faithfully to perform the duties of their said office, and the oath prescribed by the act approved July 2, 1862, entitled "An act to prescribe an oath of office."

Section 6, That all expenses incurred by the several commanding generals, or by virtue of any orders issued or appointments made by them under or by virtue of this act, shall be paid out of any moneys in the treasury not otherwise appropriated.

Section 7, That the Convention for each State shall prescribe the fees, salary, and compensation to be paid to all delegates and other officers and agents herein authorized or necessary to carry into effect the purposes of this act, not herein otherwise provided for, and shall provide for the levy and collection of such taxes on the property in such State as may be necessary to pay the same.

Section 8, That the word "article" in the sixth section of the act to which this is a supplement, shall be construed to mean section.


# National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MARCH 23, 1867.



### Wendell Phillips's

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Wendell Phillips is Special Editorial Contributor.

Address AARON M. POWELL,
Editor of the National Anti-Slavery Standard,
39 Nassau street, New York.


### *THE WEST—CONGRESS—IMPEACHMENT.*

Grand Rapids, Mich., March 9, 1867.

Dear Standard: I thought I should have some descriptions to send you of this Western people, but I find none worth writing. Years ago there were striking differences between the West and the East, but they are fading fast away; the two populations grow more and more alike, a happy augury for our national future. One characteristic remains: this people are decided—*pronounced*, as the French would say—in everything. Here, as in Massachusetts, you find the rankest Copperheads and the sternest Radicals, side by side. Nobody minces matters. Strong lines divide the community. There is no fading of one party into another by undistinguishable shades. Hence a New Englander feels at home here.

Lincoln told me once that he had been surprised to find that, whatever step he took, the people were more than ready for it. Congress could say the same, if members would only test the masses, East and West, as common men do.

I have seen no place where the people were not ready and eager for more stringent measures than Congress ventures on.

But the XXXIXth Congress died well. Nothing in life became them so much as the leaving it. They lived slip-shod, wavering, timid and half-hearted; but they died with their faces Zionward. Their last week almost redeemed the session; not that the Military Reconstruction law is perfect—far from it. It was much nearer perfection as it came from the hands of that master workman, Thaddeus Stevens. Blaine and the Senate tinkered it sadly. As Stevens offered the bill, it was a perfect whole, embodying fitly one idea—namely, to hold the discordant elements at the South by force till time sobered and moulded them. The idea was good; the method as perfect as was practicable. Botchers interpolated the idea of reconstructing governments there, and thus made the whole thing a muddle. Still it is invaluable, as showing a vast stride in Congress toward the people's purpose and wish. For the first time Congress proposes action to which it does not ask Southern assent. It orders. Like a conqueror it dictates terms—terms of which it does not ask acceptance, but to which it orders submission. This is a great step, an immense gain.

Secondly, Congress for the first time defines who are the *Southern people* by including all races. Hitherto, in Congressional phrase, "the Southern people" meant the white race. Now, in organizing governments, the black is counted, welcomed. His political *status* is acknowleged. He is rehabilitated as a man, a full citizen.

Thirdly, This law recognizes the fact that, for the present, the South must be held by the sword. For the first time, the government looks the fact in the face.

Rarey told me that he never felt he could trust a horse till every muscle and fibre yielded its tension and became slack and relaxed. That was the sign that the animal gave up. Till then Rarey watched and held him. He was the wisest of reconstructionists. No Southern muscle has yet relaxed. It is not yet safe to trust that *Cruiser*. Keep the straps on awhile. The time for confidence comes when the animal has thoroughly learned our power and our purpose to use it, and *gives up*.

There are two capital weaknesses in the law. The first is, it trusts the South with State Rights as soon as it puts impartial suffrage into its Constitution. Who will guarantee that any Southern State will keep it there, even if it does put it there? Already the Southern press tells its readers that, once inside Congress, they can change their constitutions.* We have had, in Kansas, ample experience of Southern recklessness in cheating as to laws and constitutions. There is no safety but in an amendment to the Federal Constitution securing negro suffrage. We are glad to see that Henderson, of Missouri, has already moved in this direction. Missouri Senators have a bright record in this war. No two men have done better service in the United States Senate than Brown and Henderson, of Missouri. We sometimes regard Mr. Sumner as a standard of weight and measure in judging other Senators. If so, no two Senators have so uniformly co-operated with him in all radical measures. The United States Senate lost its Tocqueville when Gratz Brown declined a re-election.

We ought to rally the Radical element of the country on this vital point: the absolute necessity of a Constitutional Amendment, securing the political rights of the negro, before we consider the formal part of reconstruction finished. It is to be remembered that, after all, even that is only *form*. As Mr. Stephen Foster said recently, "It is only giving the slave his title-deed, not his house." Essential reconstruction includes the planting and protecting, till they are grown, of all those seeds which result in Republican governments.

For myself, I would never consent to put up between those States and the Federal power the barrier of State Rights (which war has destroyed) until another Constitutional Amendment is ratified—namely, one making it the duty of the Federal government to establish and maintain in any State which does not possess one, a system of common and equal schools, at the expense of such State. It is absurd for intelligence to share sovereignty with inaccessible ignorance. When great questions come before the American people, like those of war, slavery, a tariff, etc., etc., on what do we depend for a wise decision? On public discussion, specially through the press. Now, here are, have been, and, if Southern leaders can have their way, there always *will be*, hundreds of thousands of Southern people who cannot read. To them the press—the *mind*—of the nation has no access. It was this inaccessible ignorance that made rebellion possible. The leaders drove the masses like a herd. It would be the grossest folly to imagine any such thing possible in a Northern State. Here men lead men; there knaves cheat fools. And this is just what, in future, the same knaves will attempt. Shall the seaboard—to which the question is one of life or death—allow the ignorance of Alabama or Arkansas, led by rebel knaves, to have hereafter the same weight as the intelligence of Ohio and Michigan in deciding whether war shall ravage our coasts? Absurd. *Prescribe* education, then—not as an individual condition of voting, but as a State characteristic.

The second defect of this military law, perhaps inevitable, is that it leaves its execution to the President. Grant might as well have issued orders in January, 1865, for Lee to execute. That would have been folly, because Lee was not then conquered. The President is not yet conquered, has not yet surrendered.

We suppose the plan of adjourning Congress a while, is to give those blind folks who fancy he will execute this law, a chance to *feel* that he will not—then we trust Congress will reassemble to perform a lustration, and cleanse the White House from its long disgrace. In justice to Republican government, which he makes contemptible; in justice to the American nation, which he disgraces; in justice to Southern Unionists, whose blood is on his garments; in justice to the negro, surrendered defenceless into the hands of his enemies, and murdered every hour, we demand Johnson's removal. Davis's escape from all punishment, with Andersonville and Libby Prison behind him, will always make American justice a hissing and a by-word. But if Johnson pass on, with no mark of Cain set on his brow, mankind will regard us as a nation of peddlers and tricksters, destitute both of self-respect and a moral sense.

Wendell Phillips.

**The Charlottesville (Va.) Chronicle says: "Under the provisional government we have the military and negro suffrage; if admitted into the Union, we have negro suffrage and get rid of the military. Pending the provisional government, the men proscribed by the third clause of the amendment cannot vote; they can vote when the State is admitted. Then this is to be considered; the quicker we get into the Union the better; there we are a State, and we can control our own affairs—changing our State Constitution if necessary. There we are] out of the jaws of the beast who is ready to devour us.*

### *THE STATE CONVENTION.*

The Legislature at Albany "makes haste slowly" in its action upon the Convention bill. In the Conference the Senators insisted upon the ballot for all colored men in the election of delegates, to which the Assemblymen agreed. The Senate has accepted the report of the Conference Committee, but the Assembly has yet to act upon it. There is far too little attention given to this important matter by the people of the State at large. By the regular recurrence of the Constitutional Convention the whole question as to the true and equitable basis of government is opened up and remitted directly to the people to reconsider and affirm. Colored men, admonished by the failure of past efforts here to remove their disabilities and warned by the recent adverse results of similar propositions in the Republican Legislatures of Ohio and Michigan, and in the State of Connecticut, should be on the alert, spare no exertion and leave no stone unturned to successfully assert their claims to full and equal citizenship. It will be great injustice, and deep disgrace if, through apathy and selfish indifference, New York is permitted longer to disfranchise the negro, while the ballot is demanded for him at the South in the military reconstruction authorized by her Senators and Representatives in Congress.

Though the Senate very improperly receded from its proposition to include women as electors for delegates to the Convention, it does not by any means preclude right action in the Convention.

It is morally certain that if the majority, or a considerable portion of the women of New York were sufficiently alive to the importance of gaining equal citizenship for themselves, the restrictive word "male" would be promptly stricken from the Constitution in the revision. We again urge our readers in all parts of the State to vigorously improve every available means of agitation in favor of right action in the Convention (assuming that ultimately it will be provided for and held), through the dissemination of documents, by lectures, public meetings, the press, the pulpit, in private discussion, and in every way which any one and every one can work. New York, united with Kansas in truly democratic government, would practically decide the contest for liberty and equality in the nation at large. Let not a ripe opportunity be misimproved.

An excellent, large sized photograph likeness of the Rev. J. D. Horton, one of the martyrs of the New Orleans massacre, has been issued for sale in Boston. It can be seen and obtained at this office. It is proper for us to add that its sale will contribute to the relief of Mrs. Horton, who is left destitute of means. A bill has been sent to her by New Orleans physicians for medical attendance upon her murdered husband during the brief period that he survived after the riot amounting to *eight hundred dollars!* If this bill is ever paid it should be by Andrew Johnson, and before the passage of a relief bill for rebels and rioters, we hope Congress will give heed to Gen. Butler's suggestion and provide by liberal appropriation for Mrs. Horton and her numerous fellow-sufferers, as the victims of rebel hate and violence.

The *Right Way*, established by Maj. George L. Stearns, of Boston, about two years since, to promote Reconstruction upon the basis of equality for the negro, has been discontinued. It was gratuitously and extensively distributed for a time, and more recently has been furnished for a moderate subscription price. Especially for Southern circulation, for which it was chiefly intended, the *Right Way* was a valuable auxiliary, and we regret that Mr. Stearns has felt it necessary to discontinue it, while a just reconstruction is at best but prospective, rather than achieved.

The American Anti-Slavery Society, and its auxiliaries, we are happy to be able to announce, will be fitly and ably represented at the International Anti-Slavery Conference to be held in Paris in June next, by Robert Purvis, Esq., and Mary Grew. The selection of delegates has not yet been definitely made, but we are advised that they will probably receive and accept appointment as such. It is hoped, but not certain, that Mr. Phillips will be able to go.

The Supplemental Reconstruction bill has passed both branches of Congress, and is now in the hands of the President awaiting a veto. No new features of special importance have been added as affecting the general character and scope of the Military law.

Hon. Roscoe Conkling, the recently elected U. S. Senator from this State, we regret to see, voted against the excellent educational amendment to the Supplemental Reconstruction bill proposed by Mr. Sumner. His votes, thus far, have indicated little gain to the radical side, contrasted with Mr. Harris's later record. Hon. E. D. Morgan, of this city, we are glad to notice, voted with Mr. Sumner in favor of the educational amendment.

### *PERSONAL.*

Wendell Phillips lectured at Galesburg, Ill., on the 13th inst., to a crowded house.

M. D. Conway delivered at the Royal Institution, on Friday, the 22d ult, the birthday of Washington, a lecture on "New England."

A mulatto slave in Brazil has carried off a national prize medal for the best works of sculpture, and has also received a paper of manumission.

Rev. A. D. Mayo of Cincinnati will go abroad to return in October. He goes for relief from dyspepsia, which is very troublesome and has afflicted him at times for twenty years.

Lucretia Mott, we are pained to hear, is quite seriously ill, from a recent severe cold. Her indisposition is the occasion of much anxiety to her family and friends. We shall hope soon to hear that she is better.

W. W. Thayer, of the *Right Way*, is about to assume the editorial management of the *North Missouri Courier*, published at Hannibal, Mo. Mr. Thayer is a vigorous writer, thoroughly radical in sentiment, and of clear insight. He will be a valuable gain to the *Courier*. He has our hearty good will in his new engagement, which we trust will prove to be a pleasant one to himself, and in a large degree useful in the field of journalism.

By a formal vote of the Lower House of the Michigan Legislature, Fred. Douglass was recently invited to a seat on the floor.

Only a few days since, says the Chicago *Spiritual Republic*, this same "Lower House" passed an act requiring persons of African descent to swear that they possessed less than one-quarter negro blood before being permitted to vote. They must understand political gymnastics in Michigan.

Ristori, the Italian actress, who has caused so great a sensation in America, is now in her forty-first year. She is married to the Marquis Caprinica del Grillo—a Roman nobleman—and has two handsome children—a son and daughter, in their teens. All accompany her on her American tour. Like Jenny Lind, her private reputation is unsullied. Born in obscurity and poverty, she is a noble example of the self-made woman. The fame and fortune she enjoys sprang from genius and perseverance, intense study and exhaustive experience of life behind the foot-lights.

Dr. Samuel G. Howe and Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, with two daughters, were among the passengers by the Asia, which sailed from this port on Wednesday for Liverpool. Dr. Howe will leave his family in Italy and proceed himself to Greece, in order to superintend the distribution of the money raised in the United States for the relief of the starving Cretan women and children. The treasurer of the fund reports having received upwards of sixteen thousand dollars in money for this cause; to which benevolent individuals and associations have added liberal supplies of clothing and other stores that would bear transportation.

Mrs. Sarah J. Nowell of Cambridgeport, Mass., in a note accompanying a remittance and donation for The Standard says;

"I see by last night's paper that Mr. Sumner's resolutions requiring education and homesteads for the freedmen were laid upon the table on the motion of Mr Frelinghuysen. Alas, alas! the idea of impartial justice scarcely enters into the counsels of the nation. Congress seems determined not to see the perils that beset us on every hand. They are wonderfully like the people of Isaiah's vision, of whom the Lord said, 'Go, and tell the people, Hear ye indeed, but understand not; and see ye indeed, but perceive not.'"

George Peabody, has not suffered from any lack of suggestions as to what he should do with his money, as the following card from him, in the Boston *Post*, will show:

Mr. George Peabody, intending soon to leave for England, deems it a duty due to himself to inform all those who, during his visit of ten months in his native country, have written to him asking loans of money, donations to literary institutions, subscriptions to churches, public charities, etc., or assistance for themselves or others, that the great number of these communications has rendered it impossible for him to read or answer, or even to open them in person. The latter duty has, therefore, been assigned confidentially to others. And as many of the writers have requested that their application should be kept secret, Mr. Peabody would state that he has this day caused these letters, amounting to nearly four thousand, to be burnt in his presence, thus relieving their own apprehensions and his own responsibility.

The third anniversary of the death of Rev. T. S. King was the occasion for commemorative services in Hollis street church a week ago last Sunday. Rev. Mr. Chaney gave an appropriate discourse upon the leading events in the life of his predecessor, his prominent traits of mind, and the sweet graces of his heart, as they occurred and were unfolded in his varied experiences. The occasion was used for placing in the church the portrait-bust of Mr. King, which, seen in marble for the first time, gave entire satisfaction in its fidelity as a likeness and its execution as a work of art. The memorial stood upon a pedestal on the north side of the pulpit, where space was made for its reception by the removal of several pews, and where it will be always visible to the greater portion of the audience.

This tribute, says the *Transcript*, to one whom the Hollis street church delights to honor, was procured by subscription of a thousand dollars, readily made. The subscribers, as well as others, are naturally gratified that such entire success has crowned their grateful and loving purpose to thus remember their eloquent pastor, where his winning and instructive voice was so often heard enforcing the most solemn truths of religion and the highest duties of life. The bust was modelled by Thomas Ball, who took it with him to Italy to be put into marble. It was recently received here, and has been waiting for the fitting hour and place for its exhibition.

The Philadelphia *Press*, in a notice of the death of William H. Furness, says: The recent death, at Boston, of the artist, William Henry Furness, Jr., son of the distinguished divine and scholar, the Rev. W. H. Furness, of this city, is so keenly felt in so large a circle of friends, or has been so generally circulated among the friends of art and letters, that it would seem superfluous in us to comment on the fact. But, for the sake of those who did not know him, we cannot refrain from an effort to convey somewhat of his very remarkably pure and gentle character, his simple and earnest nature and his naif conscientiousness in all things, whether in the practice of his art or the daily duties of life. He was truly an artist, not only by that peculiar intellectual culture from an early age which can only be fully realized and satisfied by following the innate impulse to create the beautiful, but by his education abroad and his life at home. The reward of this was manifested in the great friendship and kindliness extended to him by all who knew him, while in his calling it was shown in that steady progress and continual improvement which ever attends the truthful artist.

We can recall him in early life, as a mere boy, by far the gentlest, the most amiable and upright among many, who were by no means deficient in these qualities; but it was in the very remarkable degree to which he preserved these characteristics in after life, at an age when the world has generally frosted such early fruit, that William Henry Furness differed from others. He was always good, always kind, always willing to aid others, and readily gratified by their successes. His sudden death has caused, we doubt not, a degree of grief such as seldom falls to the lot of the journalist to chronicle.

The Standard in Boston.—John J. Dyer & Co., No. 35 School street, as our agents in Boston, will hereafter receive and forward subscriptions for The Standard, and supply single copies to such as desire.

### *SOUTH CAROLINA.*

It is but a few days since Gov. Orr, of South Carolina, addressed the colored people of Charleston, endeavoring to convince them that their brethren on the plantations who had, "by some means—needless to enlarge upon," grown up illiterate, were therefore unfit for the ballot, with which, if they possessed it, they might endanger the property and standing of his auditors, more highly favored in their city life. The report tells of no response to the Governor. But they have had another meeting in South Carolina, and this time, in Columbia, and the dispatch very truly says, "It was one of the most remarkable meetings ever held in that State." The "sentiments were highly honorable on both sides. The negroes are gratified with the political affiliation of the citizens, and the citizens equally pleased to find the colored men for the interests of the estate. The latter will probably nominate and elect the best men in the county, and," as declared by Mr. Nash, a colored man, "will urge Congress to repeal the disfranchising clause." Just observe: "*negroes*" and "citizens;" "citizens and "*colored men*;" and sentiments "*highly honorable to both sides.*" And upon this the *Tribune*, more good-natured than suspicious, gives a double-leaded congratulation to "*New* South Carolina."

But, are Gen. Wade Hampton and his companions so soon and so greatly changed? Whatever could be done, has been done by these rebels and their friend in the White House to crush the black man; and at last, believing him as foolish as he is unschooled, they sought, cunningly soliciting his own agency, by this means, to dash out the dawning liberty of his race. That too failed. The suffrage is assured to the freedmen, and they are citizens. Then immediately the "*negroes* and the citizens" are convened, and Wade Hampton and his friends who would never surrender, even after Lee's capitulation, condescend to men of low estate. They stoop to conquer. They are willing to rule just as they did before; and as black men *must* vote, why, they are willing to be voted for by those whom they so long sold or slaughtered. "Highly honorable to both parties!" What a pity that Gov. Orr was not on hand to retract what he said about the ignorant blacks of the interior! And these poor people—"pleased with the rattle, tickled with the straw," will forthwith beg Congress to enfranchise all the Wade Hampton's so they can be the "best men in the State" as before, and rule us all again.

Of course the tenor of the dispatch shows where it had its origin. The colored people of the South are sagacious though unlettered. The foolish people there are the rebels who fancy they can thus use the race so long their victims, and that by any number of poor fictions they can induce a faithful and far-seeing Congress to cast away all the securities obtained at last with so much labor and waiting through the wonderful working of Divine Providence.

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### *LAND FOR THE NEGRO.*

Hon. Thaddeus Stevens made a very able speech in the House of Representatives on Tuesday last in support of a Confiscation bill from which we extract the following:

"The fourth section provides, first, that out of the lands thus confiscated, each liberated slave who is a male adult, or the head of a family, shall have assigned to him a homestead of forty acres of land (with $100 to build a dwelling), which shall be held for them by trustees during their pupilage. Let us consider whether this is a just and politic provision. Whatever may be the fate of the rest of the rest of the bill I most earnestly pray that this may not be defeated. On its success, in my judgment, depends not only the happiness and respectability of the colored race, but their very existence. Homesteads to them are far more valuable than the immediate right of suffrage, though both are their due. Four millions of persons have just been freed from a condition of dependence, wholly unacquainted with business transactions, kept systematically in ignorance of all their rights, and of the common elements of education, without which none of any race are competent to earn an honest living, to guard against the frauds which will always be practised on the ignorant, or to judge of the most judicious manner of applying their labor. But few of them are mechanics, and none of them skilled manufacturers. They must necessarily, therefore, be the servants and the victims of others, unless they are made in some measure independent of their wiser neighbors. The guardianship of the Freedmen's Bureau, that benevolent institution, cannot be expected long to protect them. It encounters the hostility of the old slaveholders, whether in official or private station, because it deprives these dethroned tyrants of the luxury of despotism. In its nature, it is not calculated for a permanent institution. Withdraw that protection and leave them a prey to the legislation and treatment of their former masters, and the evidence already furnished shows that they will soon become extinct, or be driven to defend themselves by civil war. Withhold from them all their rights, and leave them destitute of the means of earning a livelihood, the victims of the hatred or cupidity of the rebels whom they helped to conquer, and it seems probable that the war of races might ensue which the President feared would arise from kind treatment and the restoration of their rights. I doubt not that hundreds of thousands would annually be deposited in secret, unknown graves. Such is already the course of their rebel murderers; and it is done with impunity. The clearest evidence of that fact has already been shown by the testimony taken by the "Central Directory." Make them independent of their old masters, so that they may not be compelled to work for them upon unfair terms, which can only be done by giving them a small tract of land to cultivate for themselves, and you remove all this danger. You also elevate the character of the freedman. Nothing is so likely to make a man a good citizen as to make him a freeholder. Nothing will so multiply the productions of the South as to divide it into small farms. Nothing will make men so industrious and moral as to let them feel that they are above want, and are the owners of the soil which they till. It will also be of service to the white inhabitants. They will have constantly among them industrious laborers, anxious to work for fair wages. How is it possible for them to cultivate their lands if these people were expelled? If Moses should lead or drive them into exile, or carry out the absurd idea of colonizing them, the South would become a barren waste. When that wisest of Monarchs, the Czar of Russia, compelled the liberation of 25,000,000 serfs, he did not for a moment entertain the foolish idea of depriving his empire of their labor, or of robbing them of their rights. He ordered their former owners to make some compensation for their unrequited toil by conveying to them the very house in which they lived, and a portion of the land which they had tilled as serfs. The experiment has been a perfect success. It has brought the prosperity which God gives to wisdom and justice. Have they not a right to it? I do not speak of their fidelity and services in this bloody war. I put it on the mere score of lawful earnings. They and their ancestors have toiled, not for years, but for ages, without one farthing of recompense. They have earned for their masters this very land and much more. Will not he who denies them compensation now be accursed, for he is an unjust man? Have we not upon this subject the recorded decision of a Judge who never erred? Four millions of Jews were held in bondage in Egypt. Their slavery was mild compared with the slavery inflicted by Christians. For, of all recorded slavery—Pagan, Heathen or Mohammedan—Christian slavery has been the most cruel and heartless; and of all Christian slavery, American slavery has been the worst. God, through no pretended, but a true Moses, led them out of bondage, as in our case, through a red sea—at the cost, as in our case, of the first born of every household of the oppressor. Did He advise them to take no remuneration for their years of labor? No! He understood too well what was due to justice. He commanded the men and the women to borrow from their confiding neighbors 'jewels of silver and jewels of gold, and raiment.' They obeyed him amply, and spoiled the Egyptians, and went forth full-handed. There was no blasphemer then to question God's decrees of confiscation. This doctrine then was not 'satanic.' He who questions it now will be a blasphemer, whom God will bring to judgment. If we refuse to this down-trodden and oppressed race the rights which Heaven decreed them, and the remuneration which they have earned through long years of hopeless oppression, how can we hope to escape still further punishment if God is just and omnipotent? It may come in the shape of plagues, or of intestine wars, race against race, the oppressed against the oppressor. But come it will. Seek not to divert our attention from justice by a puerile cry about fatted calves!"

### *LETTERS FROM ASA FAIRBANKS.*

Providence, March 16, 1867.

*To the Editor of the Standard:*

Shame on the Republican Legislators of New York, New Jersey and Ohio, who, just after their delegations in Congress had voted for the Military and Reconstruction bill, giving the franchise to the blacks in the ten rebel States, *promptly reject* granting the same in their own States. O, what shameful inconsistency, ungodly prejudice, anti-christian anti-Republican, but they have made their record to their everlasting shame and disgrace. After using the colored men to help put down the rebellion and save the nation, they now turn and brand them with infamy, as a set of men unworthy of equal political rights. They give them the franchise in the ten rebel States because they are loyal to the government, and need their votes to protect the loyal whites against rebel misrule. The time may come when their votes will be needed at home in their own States to keep up their majority against rebel sympathizers and copperheads. It is not because the blacks would vote down their party, for they know that they would not; it is simply cruel prejudice against color. I am glad to see the note in the last Standard from our true friend, Robert Purvis. I trust that the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society will give it due attention, and I do not know of any one more properly fitted, in every respect, to represent the Society at the International Anti-Slavery Conference to be held in Paris in June next, than Mr. Purvis. As he truly says, "The American Anti-Slavery Society is the only legitimately authorized exponent of the colored race in this country, and can speak for him as no other association can." It appears to me very important that a representative should go from the Society, and hope in this opinion the Executive Committee will concur.

Truly A. Fairbanks.

Providence, March 18, 1867.

*To the Editor of the Standard:*

Since I mailed my letter to you of the 16th, I am glad to correct my error as it respects the N. Y. Legislature. That in voting for delegates to the State Convention, the hateful word white is left out of the law. I hope and trust, for its own reputation, they will hereafter *keep it* out. I think they will, for *one special* reason if not two. The party now dominant in the State need their help at the ballot-box. Thirteen thousand is a small majority in a cast of 600,000 votes. If that hateful word white had been out of the way last November, Gov. Fenton's majority would have been some thousands larger than it was. I think it would have gone up to near if not quite 20,000. Now look at poor Connecticut, the dominant party working like beavers to sustain themselves against the sympathizers of Jeff. Davis and Andrew Johnson, the great battle to come off the first day of April. Eighteen months ago the voters of that State said to the black man, stand back, we don't want you to approach the ballot-box; you did bravely with the cartridge-box, but we prefer to keep the ballot-box for white men. What would be more insulting, shamefully insulting, to every loyal man in the United States, than the vote which by 6,000 majority it was decided that the ballot-box should be in Connecticut for white men only. The census of 1860 gives the colored population about 9,000, not less than 1,200 male adults of twenty-one years and over. There would be 1,200 voters for Gov. Hawley and his party. Ah, had the voters in October, 1865, been governed by *justice* instead of prejudice, a great labor would have been saved. Barnum, the showman, was right on that question, and thousands of Republicans, I know, must now truly regret their folly that they did not heed his true words uttered by him in the State Legislature, on the question of submitting to the voters an Amendment to the Constitution, giving franchise to the colored man.

We read, the way of transgressors is hard. And now we see what hard work the party had last April, and saved themselves by the small majority of 530 and now hard at work again for the second battle, two weeks hence, and all because 1,200 true, loyal men in the State are not allowed the franchise, and for the reason, only their parents were not white men and women. O shame, where is thy blush.

But the people of Connecticut will soon I trust, repent this folly, and do the works meet for repentance, and go for justice and the right, and discard cruel prejudice as both wicked and unprofitable. A. Fairbanks.

## Our Boston Correspondence.

Boston, March 17th, 1867.

The long procession of witnesses opposed to the existing prohibitory liquor law, and in favor of a license law, having passed by, a procession of equal length on the opposite side is now passing in review before our Legislative Committee on that subject. But though its length (to suit the convenience of the Committee) will be kept down to the limit shown by its predecessor, its weight will be far greater, inasmuch as principle outweighs expediency, and its momentum, the tendency of the party of progress, will be unspeakably greater. It was refreshing to see the manner in which Hon. Linus Child, one of the counsel of the liquor-dealers, was defeated in his attempts to mystify Rev. Jacob L. Manning as to the influence of the laws on temperance as one branch of morality, and to draw from him an admission that, *if* a greater consumption of liquor followed the enactment of a prohibitory law, then of course return to a license law was the appropriate method of legislative combat with intemperance. Mr. Manning made it plain to the audience that filled the Representatives' Hall (whether or not the Committee were convinced) that law should have a basis of manifest justice and right; that, having this basis, it possessed a solid and enduring power, and exercised a powerful influence in the moral education of the people; and that the enactment of laws founded on some temporary policy at variance with right was a vicious act, and must of necessity have a pernicious influence. Mr. Manning also made it plain that any actual increase of intemperance, or of consumption of intoxicating drinks, since the prohibitory law, had its cause far rather in the combination of a large and powerful body of men to resist and evade the law, than in any natural operation of the law itself. The existing law was right, founded on right principles, and tending to good ends; and all good men should rally to the support of it.

There have been of late some significant movements in regard to the relation to each other of the two Tract Societies bearing the same name (as if each wished to monopolize the element of nationality)—"The American Tract Society" in New York, and "The American Tract Society" in Boston. Twenty years ago or so, the latter of these Societies being then Auxiliary to the former, both were heartily agreed in the policy of refusing and discouraging all interference with slavery, even by preaching and tract distribution. As Anti-Slavery truth, however, made more progress in New England than in other parts of the country, its diffusion influenced church-members and patrons of the Tract Society, as well as others, and these came to share the indignation which had long been felt by Abolitionists against the "expurgation" of anti-slavery sentiments from tracts and books already existing, when these were republished by the American Tract Society. As this feeling constantly increased, a portion of the Managers of the Boston Auxiliary took advantage of it to turn themselves, and initiate measures to turn their Society, towards the rising sun, and to make protest against this expurgation as vehemently as if they themselves had not been all along accomplices in it. After a few years, the tide of public sentiment outside the church and the Tract Society still continuing to rise, these Managers accomplished their purpose, drove off those of their colleagues who preferred the old policy, brought the Boston Tract Society, in the matter of protest against slavery, up to the level of the Republican party, and finally, after repeated attempts, gained a majority at their annual meeting in favor of discontinuing their Auxiliary relation, and becoming an independent Society. In the course of these movements, also, they took the attitude of rebukers of

ency of a reunion with the New York Society. And, in fact, the managers of the Boston Society have no objection to such reunion, only they stand out for favorable terms. To be sure, they had proved upon the Managers of the New York Society not only a policy of systematic favor to slavery, but a vast amount of unfair dealing, tergiversation and direct deceit in support of that policy. These little circumstances, however, did not seem weighty enough to deter them from again seeking a partnership otherwise desirable; so, "by request of friends," a committee, appointed for the purpose by the Boston Board, went to the New York Tract House last year, and discussed this matter in a two days' session with a committee appointed by the New York Board. The result was amusing. The New York Managers felt so secure in the favor of their public, including a considerable portion of the New England churches, that they snubbed the Boston Society in the most unceremonious manner, and let its representatives know that, if they wanted to come back, it must be on the old terms as an Auxiliary, not at all as an equal partner in the *management* of the Tract business. The funniest part of it is that this interview and its unpleasant result (which seem to have been "kept dark" at the time by the Boston Managers) have lately been publicly rehearsed by their Executive Committee, apparently under pressure of still further solicitation from their own patrons for union with the New York Society.

A meeting was held in Mercantile Hall last Monday evening by the Freedmen's Memorial Monument Association, to bring their plans more fully before the public, and raise money towards the erection of that monument for which Miss Hosmer has furnished the model. The attendance was not large, and three of the speakers who were advertised, and who were said to have promised their attendance, did not appear. Our friend, Charles Lenox Remond, one of the Vice-Presidents, took the chair, and made a spirited and effective speech; and Mr. William Wells Brown, the General Agent of the Association, set forth its plans, wishes and hopes, and appealed for aid from all classes to accomplish the ultimate object. He made the rather startling announcement that the monument would require, on the scale and of the materials now intended, an expenditure of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars ($250,000). The first estimate, if I remember rightly, was that sixty or seventy thousand dollars would be necessary, and that the bulk of this would be raised by the colored people, though help from others would be desirable and welcome.

The idea of a monument to President Lincoln raised by the freedmen—since circumstances have caused Mr. Lincoln's name to be more familiar to the mass of the freedmen than Mr. Garrison's—is of itself an impressive idea; and a monument so raised would be an impressive object, even if wanting in some of the material elements of grandeur. But when the project is announced of raising a quarter of a million dollars from the pockets of the colored people and their best friends among the whites (two classes very far from rich), at a time when all the resources that can be raised from *all* classes are too little to prevent immense suffering among millions at the South from want of food, want of clothing, want of shelter and want of employment, I, for one, am struck with a strong sense of the unfitness of such enormous expenditure. Let things come in their appropriate succession; "first that which is natural, afterwards that which is spiritual." The works needful to preserve life, to maintain decent comfort, to make a beginning of education among those who have hitherto been deprived of it, and to establish, against such opposition as now exists, the exercise of those rights which give life its value, seem to me rightfully to take precedence even of a desire to honor one's benefactor by a monument. The monument can wait; the starving cannot wait. NORTH.

## Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, March 18, 1867.

A very pleasant meeting of the Pennsylvania Female Anti-Slavery Society was held here on Thursday last, quite numerously attended, and presided over by Lucretia Mott. Many of those were to be seen there who, year after year for a long series of years, have steadfastly given the anti-slavery cause their sympathy and services, still discerning the necessities of the cause, still solicitous to devote the needed attention to the yet unfinished work. These are examples of constancy in behalf of a great and good purpose that command high praise. The noble work from time to time, in one way or another, has been promoted by their faithful exertions, and benefited by their influence. On this occasion the Thirty-third Annual Report was read by the Corresponding Secretary, Mary Grew. Your readers will doubtless have the pleasure and satisfaction of perusing this valuable document, which fully merits for its intrinsic worth the commendatory words so freely spoken in its favor. This is the thirty-first annual report that Miss Grew has had the rare privilege of preparing, and reading before the Society. Those who have read them as they appeared, can testify to their worth, and the ability indicated in their preparation. A proposition was entertained to preserve all these reports in some proper and convenient form, for future reference, as it is believed that they constitute a compendious record of anti-slavery action and progress, obstruction and drawback, such as few sources could as fully and accurately supply. Such a care would be consistent with a just estimate of their value, and the appreciation of their merit in time to come.

A lecture was delivered last week, in Liberty Hall, by Miss Fanny M. Jackson, Female Principle of the Institute for Colored Youth, of this city. Her subject was "Industry and Economy the Guardians of Individual and National Wealth." This is a new field of experience for this young woman, and the manner in which she acquitted herself is an evidence that she possesses the qualifications for a successful lecturer, deserving generous encouragement. She was favored with a large audience, spoke without notes, and gave expression to many wholesome sentiments, and forcible practical remarks. May good success attend her in this new sphere or endeavor and usefulness. Let the friends of liberal thought bestow their kindly favor, and the co-laborers in reform greet her with a cordial welcome.

Some time ago I apprised you of the passage of a bill, by our State Senate, inflicting a heavy penalty for refusing to allow negroes to ride in our city cars, and making it a misdemeanor to eject them. That act has quietly and mysteriously slept since then, but was considered in the House on the 14th instant, when it passed to third reading, and was then laid over. On that occasion the illiberal members, designated in the report of the proceedings as Democrats, but popularly styled Copperheads, gave expression to their low, boorish, and contemptible characteristics. The introduction of the measure was "greeted with hisses and jeers," by these exponents of injustice and petty tyranny. Finding themselves in a hopeless minority, they urged the withholding of votes on their side, intending thereby to leave the House without a quorum. In this they were unsuccessful. They endeavored to cripple the bill by offering various amendments, but failed in each instance. One of these foolish and despicable members took pains to manifest his want of shame by offering an amendment, "inflicting a penalty of $5,000 and ten years imprisonment, on any barber refusing to shave a colored man." He was indignantly silenced by the good sense of the Speaker. It seems to be the conspicuous province of some of these members of our Legislature, to mark the proceedings with disgrace. In this instance their wretched endeavors could not prevail. Very soon I hope to be able to announce that this just act has become a law in force, and an effectual remedy for the great wrong and injustice so long practiced against one class of our citizens. W.

MARCH 19th.

The bill mentioned above was passed late last night, and now only requires the Governor's signature to become a law. The following is the telegraphic report of the proceedings, which fairly exhibits the bad spirit of the baffled opponents of this righteous measure:

An act to allow colored persons to ride in all public conveyances came up for consideration, and the Democrats persistently refused to vote, thus exhausting time by calls of the House and other parliamentary tactics. At a late hour only 45 Republicans could be found, which, not being a quorum, the bill could not be passed, Democratic members remaining in their seats and refusing to vote.

At a late hour the Democratic portion of the House was declared in contempt for refusing to vote, but afterwards purged themselves by explanations and finally voted, when the bill passed by 50 ayes to 27 nays.

No apprehension is expressed concerning the official action of the Governor, who, it is confidently believed, will append his signature to the bill without delay. So we may welcome JUSTICE at last in this long revolted province of her empire. W.

### *LIFE IN NEW ORLEANS.*

We are permitted to make the following extract of a letter to a friend from a Northern lady now in New Orleans:

"You ask if we wish to be admitted as of old, or reconstructed? The *true Union* people would prefer to be under the military, if needs be, for a hundred years to come, as they are convinced *that* is the *only safe government* for them. Our city government is perfectly abominable. The Mayor ought to have a rope around his neck with a stone attached and thrown into the river like any other dog. If he had not been a coward on the day of the riot, that is, afraid of the military, all the Union people would have been murdered in cold blood. He became alarmed at his own acts. He and the rest of his clique would give their *all* if it had never occurred; not that they have repented of their deeds, but it has been a barrier to their hopes of getting the entire control of the State government, as well as the United States government. As much as I regret the loss of life on that day, I firmly believe that it was a Providential occurrence, as Congress might have yielded to their clamors for admittance. Once in, the next step will be a steady preparation for another trial for their *independence*, as they term it. I do not think they will ever try another riot; but there are various ways in which they can and will annoy Union men in business, who stand up to their principles. I will give some examples, instances of recent occurrence. There is a large wholesale dry goods house, headed by an apostate Yankee from Massachusetts, who has *all* bitter secesh, mostly men who were in the Confederate army, in his employ, in order to get custom. Among these rebellious spirits was a Yankee captain, the only Union man in the house, excepting the owner. The rebels were determined to rid themselves of this said captain. So they commenced before the riot to pitch into him now and then with their fists, but he held his own against odds, as frequently there would be two and three at him, when they found he was getting the advantage of their own. This treatment continued until about two weeks since, when several of them took a cowhide and went up stairs where he was attending to his business, and cornered him, and gave him a tremendous whipping, which laid him up for some time, and he was advised to leave if he wished to save his life, so he left a few days since for his home in New York. He ought to have carried a pistol and shot every one of them. There was another fracas last week in which a rebel found the right Yankee spunk. There is an office started here (by two gentlemen who were in the Federal army) for the purpose of supplying plantations with laborers. One of the rebels who was concerned in the affair just mentioned, had some business with this agency, went into their office. Because they did not comply with his request in their settlement, he called one of them scoundrel, etc., upon which the gentleman told him to take the law for it if he was not satisfied; whereupon he went away with threats to kill him. The next day he returned, commenced his offensive language, so the gentleman ordered him to leave his office, whereupon he commenced belaboring him with his cane, but he soon found out he had attacked the wrong man, as the Yankee got his own cane and being expert at fencing he soon got the advantage of his adversary so that he compelled him to draw his sword out of his cane which he thrust at the Yank, with which he only inflicted a flesh wound, then the Yank pulled out his revolver and shot at him three balls which took effect, did not kill him, but has laid him up. The Police, hearing the report of the revolver, arrested them and took them to prison. One of the Yanks friends bailed him out, took him home, had his wound dressed, which was found not to be serious. He is now around again, and the city authorities, instead of having the matter investigated, as by law they ought, are trying to hush up the matter by trying to persuade the Yank to drop it; but he declares he will sue, and have it brought before the courts. The reason why the Mayor and other city officials are unwilling to have it investigated, they fear it will tell against them in Congress as the riot has. These agents are Christian gentlemen, members of our loyal church. Is it not abominable that citizens of this great Republic cannot live in any part of it without going armed and obliged to fight their way or leave. The latter course I hope they will not pursue. Every Northern man in business here who is determined to be true to his country, should go armed to the teeth, and whenever these rebels wish to compel them to do as they require by hauling out a cowhide or cane, shoot them down. That is the only way to make them respect the contemptible Yankees."

### *IMPEACHMENT OF THE PRESIDENT.*

*To the Editor of the Standard:*

My work has been and is too engrossing to admit of being postponed for any unimportant reason. But impeaching Andrew Johnson does not demand my attention to advocate or oppose as has hitherto appeared to me. That he deserves impeachment, as men estimate crime and wrong, is true. That he deserves the halter more than did Booth, or than do Surratt and Jefferson Davis, is also doubtless true. But where is the tribunal that is to try him? What hand is clean enough to cast the first stone? Evidently the "Swindling Congress," just dissolved, was sublimely conscious that it was not the court for such a cause. It would be an appalling experience for a judge to sentence a young creature to hanging for the crime of infanticide, when he knew he himself had been her seducer! True, such a thing might be.

The Republican party, headed and led by that same "Swindling Congress," rejected Hamlin, and nominated Johnson to the Vice-Presidency to propitiate and conciliate rebels. His very nomination was a swindle. Every member of Congress knew as well as did Senators Wade and Winter Davis, that the renomination of Lincoln secured also the perilous policy of Seward another four years, no matter who should be Vice-President. And to those terrible dangers they dared to superadd the nomination of a "*poor white," Southern, slaveholding, drunken Democrat* to hold the first place in the nation, should disease or disaster remove the President.

Twice in this generation the Presidential chair had been vacated by untimely (and, as multitudes believed, by violent) deaths. At the termination, or in the midst of a 'most murderous war, nothing could have been more reasonable than to expect just the Tragedy that closed forever the career and the doors of Ford's Theatre at Washington, and installed Andrew Johnson as head of the nation.

And Johnson knew well why he was selected. He knew why Fremont and everybody else was rejected for Lincoln; and why Hamlin, Wade, Sumner, and every other Northern and Western man were set aside for such a Barrabas as himself. And Congress knows that his only crime at worst is, doing the work of conciliation, for which he was chosen, *a little too well.*

His injustice and cruelty to the colored people, *even the colored soldiers*, is no part of his offence. Nor is it his fault that scarcely one outrage upon them, not even Memphis, New Orleans, or Fort Pillow, is yet avenged, or in any way redressed. Massachusetts told him in September of 1865, that she had "no theory of reconstruction to propose;" meaning, as everybody knew at the time, on the question of colored suffrage. Connecticut, strongly Republican, responded soon after by a majority of six thousand five hundred against enfranchising even the remnants of the colored regiments that had fought her battles in the recent war!

All this was to help Andrew Johnson "conciliate" the rebels. It had, it could have, no other purpose. At first, he had favored colored suffrage as one condition of reconstruction. Nor have we any right to presume he would have changed, had he been well supported in that position. He had boldly avowed it to the colored people of Tennessee, and to Senator Sumner and others after the death of Mr. Lincoln. He had even officially proposed it to Gov. Sharkey of Mississippi; and urged it as a wise measure in the work of reconstruction.

He soon found Congress and the party that elected him more cowardly than he was corrupt. Before the end of his first Presidential year he saw not only a willingness to trample down again the whole colored race at the South, but a proposition in Congress to that very effect, under the good name of an "Amendment to the Federal Constitution" in these words:

"When the right to vote at any election * * * is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State."

Senator Sumner's own amendment was to the same effect; and nearly every Republican voted for this unjust and unrighteous arrangement, in both Houses of Congress. Thus the Constitution is to provide for the disfranchisement of all the colored race at the South, if the States desire it; only the disfranchised must not be counted in making up the basis of representation in Congress. The insertion of the word *male* into the amendment, three times repeated, completes its infamy. Of course neither of the disfranchised classes are ever asked whether they are willing to be thus immolated on the altar of "conciliation." And this is the way a *white, male* government "derives its power from the consent of the governed!"

The tribes of Israel deserved the Captivity and overthrow by the Babylonian power; but not at the hand of that power; for it was not against it that the sin had been committed. So the Southern States deserved destruction for their crimes and cruelties of almost a century; but not of the North, their equally guilty accomplice in the long career of cruelties and crimes, did they deserve to be thus visited. And the President may deserve the doom of a traitor and murderer, but surely not at the hands of a Congress and a party that seduced and betrayed him, and have been accessories in all his worst acts, to say nothing of the first and worst of all, that of placing him first in rear of the Presidential chair, at a moment when the nation was reeling on the verge of ruin, under the righteous judgments of God.

But let me give, in one word, the reason for this article. It has never seemed to me possible that the President could be impeached by Congress, or the Republican party, any more than Jefferson Davis could be tried and executed at the direction and by order of the President. Every law, principle and prompting of human nature to me appear to cry out against it. A judge and twelve jurymen, all practiced and acknowledged seducers, *might*, as already supposed, convict and execute a victim of their own, charged with infanticide; but they surely would not be very likely thus to outrage all the instincts of the moral universe.

But here is our danger. We are absorbing all the public interest and emotion on a question that cannot now affect the final adjustment of national difficulties in the slightest degree. We were kept gazing at and cursing Jeff. Davis all last year. This year it is at the President. And yet these are probably the two safest men in the nation. In Abraham's bosom they would not be farther from danger at the hand of the nation. The government intends neither of them any harm.

But where is justice to the colored race? the colored soldier? the colored man? and more than all, where are safety and protection to *the colored woman?* Suffrage to even *male* citizens is not secured in the South. It cannot be secure there for an hour after restoration of the States, without another amendment to the Federal Constitution, to achieve which will again shake the national foundations to their very centre.

And even if the black men had the ballot, they would be but an added power to keep it from the *women*, both colored and white! This very day I read the following in a most respectable monthly journal:

"Some emancipated slaves in a Southern State went to the managers of the Freedmen's affairs and pleaded earnestly the women *against* the men *for* marriage by a clergyman, the argument being with both parties, *the almost unlimited power of abuse of the wife afforded by a legal union*, while the absence of a religious ceremony had formerly been the protection of the weaker sex."

I have seen similar statements more than once before.

Let the women of all colors and classes be warned. The present plans of restoration, should they be matured, means no good to them. The word *male* in the Amended Constitution is, by its moral effect, the death warrant of woman's *suffrage* for a hundred years. The vote of the black men of the South controlled by the white element there, could and would stay it through generations in every Southern State; and in the North, custom and prejudice, not justice and principle, are far enough yet from abdicating their sovereignty.

PARKER PILLSBURY.

Concord, N. H., March 12, 1867.

### *THE PROSPECT.*

*To the Editor of the Standard:*

To many, the outlook from Washington may be favorable. It is not so to me.

Military policy in peace will be as disastrous as was our peace policy in the first year of the war. John Brown thought to fight Harper's Ferry on *peace principles*, being more tender of his foe than of himself. That was a mistake, though happily his only mistake. We had the recent war commenced for us under that same false philanthropy. Slavery was the only sacred thing. And slaveholders were, as far as possible, to be precious in the sight of our enemies.

Now we propose military policy when there is no war; at least none acknowledged, or recognized. This mistake must be disastrous too, costing much to rectify it.

At the close of the war, or surely on the presidential assassination, there could and should have been a provisional government in every rebel State, with every loyal man *a voter, a citizen* and *a soldier*. Andrew Johnson, at that time, would have executed the acts of Congress in the true spirit of his address to the colored people of Nashville. The leading traitors and rebels would have truly repented, or scampered out of the country as fast and as far as possible. The colored people of the South would have been loyal, every man and every woman. The poor whites, left without leaders or feeders, would have been tamed to very sheepishness in the first year. But we gave time for the spirit of violence and rebellion to revive and recover itself, and now we have, as we suppose, no resource but to fight fire with fire. We shall see what comes of it.

The one good to be hoped for in the delay to restore the government is, that the black woman may rise with the black man, in the postponed, but not prevented resurrection.

At present, however, there is prospect that as Great Britain was before us in the abolition of slavery, so she may be in extension of suffrage to woman. With such champions for the measure in Parliament as Lord Brougham, John Bright and John Stuart Mill, and with hosts of the very best men and women, earnestly demanding it all over the realm, the issue cannot be in doubt. The whole course of that nation since our revolution has been upward and onward (*slow* to be sure, it has been) towards a higher civilization, and more extended enfranchisement, material and spiritual. We began our government with a Washington and a Judge Jay at the head of the two highest departments. We ended that dispensation with a James Buchanan (if anybody remembers) and Rogers B. Taney, with his Dred Scott decision. We had 500,000 slaves at our beginning. At that same time, Great Britain had 800,000. We increased ours to 4,000,000, and then saw them delivered by the visitation of God! Thirty years before, Britain had abolished slavery, in the name of humanity, and at the demand of justice and righteousness. We are now in the process of restoring our national foundations, and the government does not even recognize the existence of woman, except by an infamous and proscriptive insertion of the word *male* into the amended Constitution, the more to ignore, debase and degrade her. Great Britain, with no special reason or inducement, is gravely considering her claim, with every prospect of conceding it, at least with only property qualification.

The following brief extracts from letters I have recently received from that country, show somewhat the interest felt there on the question:

"Mr. Mill is in Manchester to-day, and will probably meet with our Committee for the Enfranchisement of Woman. You have heard of our former Petition to Parliament, which has had a hearing, at last, in the House. Next session, we shall have two Petitions—one from women who possess all the legal qualifications for suffrage, *except sex*, and another from men and women generally, praying for the enfranchisement of woman. * * * We are not without hope of a place in the new Reform bill. At any rate, we shall put on record for our successors, who will enjoy the right, that we have felt the need and asked for it. * * You will be glad to know that your friend, Rev. Mr. Steinthal, and Jacob Bright (brother of John Bright), are both active workers with us in this enterprise."

Another English letter I have just received, refers to Mrs. Taylor, wife of the member of Parliament of that name, in these terms. We have heard of her before:

"Mrs. Taylor published a series of Tracts during your late war, and circulated them to correct the false impressions and misplaced sympathies of the mass of English people. She works for freedom everywhere. She is busy now about the right of woman to vote, a topic much agitated here at present. She gave me a Petition such as is now in course of signature, for that object. * * * You are lecturing I see on the great question of *Universal Suffrage*. It will come at last, and every voice upraised in its favor will help it. Nothing can be permanently adjusted without it, either in your land or ours."

One more extract from another equally friendly hand:

"I am glad you have taken up the enfranchisement of woman. You are right in thinking that achievement would greatly help forward all other good enterprises. * * John Stuart Mill, our great champion in that work, has just been in Manchester, and the Queen's Speech, as you probably saw, recommended a free extension of the franchise."

Your readers may be interested to see a form of the Petition now in circulation throughout England, as referred to in one of these extracts, and I enclose it as follows:

*To the Honorable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled.*

The humble Petition of the undersigned, sheweth:

That the exclusion of freeholders, householders, and ratepayers, legally qualified in every respect but that of sex, from the power of voting in the election of members of your Honorable House, by depriving a considerable portion of the property, the industry, and the intelligence of the country of all direct representation, is injurious both to the persons excluded, and to the community at large.

That women are competent, both by law and in fact, to carry on business, to administer an estate, and to fill other positions, which, both by investing them with interests requiring political representation, and by affording tests of fitness, are usually considered to give a claim to the suffrage.

That the admission of such persons to the privilege of the franchise would be a measure in harmony with the principles of our representative system, while its beneficial effects would not be attended by any possibility of dangerous political consequences.

Your petitioners therefore humbly pray that your Honorable House will take such measures as to your wisdom may seem fit for granting the suffrage to unmarried women and widows on the same conditions on which it is, or may be, granted to men.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

I could extend these extracts were it proper; but these are sufficient for the present. We shall have to be active and earnest, or Great Britain will lead us on the question of the *ballot for woman*, as she did in the abolition of slavery. So often in human events, the last are first, and the first last.

PARKER PILLSBURY.

Concord, N. H., March 18, 1867.

### *THE UNDEMOCRATIC FEATURES OF OUR GOVERNMENT.*

*To the Editor of the Standard:*

While the most glaring of these, such as the Constitution of the Senate and the Supreme Court, have been made the subject of discussion in your columns, I wish to make a single remark in regard to the House of Representatives, which, although by far the best constituted body of any in the government, yet contains one defect which ought to receive attention, and the more so because its remedy is a matter of simple legislation, not requiring any Amendment to the Constitution.

It is undeniable that the voice of the people is entitled to the most *speedy*, as well as the most perfect influence upon legislation. This should be the aim and end of all our democratic forms; and the more perfectly we attain this, the less dissatisfaction will there be among the people who suffer the evil consequences of all bad government. For this purpose frequent elections are necessary, so that the people may have opportunity to correct whatever operates to their injury. But frequent elections are of no avail unless the officers elected enter upon their duties soon after the people have chosen them. If a representative is elected *now*, but does not enter upon the duties of his office until after the expiration of *two or three years*, it is obvious that in the course of that time new developments may have taken place, or new questions may have arisen, so that by the time he enters upon his duties he may not represent the interests and wishes of his constituents.

Precisely such is the difficulty with the House of Representatives. They are generally elected in November, but do not take their seats until December of the next year, thus leaving *thirteen months* between their election and their first session—long enough, in this rapidly progressive age, to change the whole face of political questions. They then enter upon their long session, which continues generally until July or August; and the most important measures passed are often delayed until near the end of the session, so that it is eighteen months before the will of the people can struggle through the forms of government into expression. This, be it remembered, is the case with the most democratic of all our institutions.

I do not forget that a law has been passed providing for a session of the new Congress on the 4th of March, but this is only a palliation of the evil. The Winter months are the time for legislation; and it is not probable that this session will be a long one, or that any important business will be done before next Winter. When all business is to be commenced anew, it takes time to get everything into working order. Already the proposition to adjourn over is made, and is likely to prevail, in spite of the many important measures requiring attention, such as have always been hurried over at the short session.

The most convenient time for holding elections is the Fall; but Congress ought to commence its first session in the December just after its election, while its members are fresh from their conferences with the people. They will then carry into their legislation a force which lapse of time constantly diminishes. They will have opportunity for two long sessions, and will avoid most of those motions for delay which have always been the great clog to legislation in the short session. If this change is made, there will be a better opportunity for perfecting laws before their passage, and a better chance for calm consideration and argument. But more important than all else is the fact, that members just elected will completely represent the will of their constitutents. LOUIS BRISTOL.

Carbondale, Ill., March 12, 1867.

### THE FORTIETH CONGRESS.

The Albany *Journal* has the following:

TO THE XLTH CONGRESS.

XL in framing laws to guide
Our nation through the troubled sea,
XL in Peace—the nation's pride—
XL in love and unity.

XL in branding Treason *crime*—
Though sugar coat it as they may,
With hope to spare in future time
His XLNC, & D J.

### *LITERARY.*

Charles Dickens was a spectator of the recent reform demonstration in London, from the balcony of the Athenæum Club, in company with the Archbishop of York, who, about a year and a half ago, denounced the reading of novels as pernicious.

Mr. Arthur J. Peabody, nephew of George Peabody, has become a partner in the book publishing house of Charles Scribner & Co. The name of the firm remains unchanged.

Blanchard Jerrold has been engaged by Bradbury, Evans & Co. to write a guide to Paris and the Exhibition, under the title of "Paris for the English in 1867."

Dr. Strauss, the author of a novel described by the London *Athenæum* as "vulgar, profane and indelicate," has brought an action against that journal for libel.

It is said that Queen Victoria is preparing a work for the press, illustrated by plates of her own execution.

The *American* is the title of a new weekly newspaper to be published in London and Liverpool, intended to meet the wants of Americans abroad.

Ticknor & Fields's press is unusually busy this Spring. The "Diamond Editions" are a great success; and besides Dickens and Tennyson, the house is now adding to the diamond series the Waverley Novels and Owen Meredith's, Longfellow's and Whittier's poems.

*The Radical*, for March, Rev. S. H. Morse, editor, presents a series of vigorous, fearless articles: "The Church of the Spirit," by C. A. Bartol; "Cheer," from an Unpublished Poem; "Ecce Homo," by Geo. Howison; "Form Apart from Substance," by C. K. Whipple; "Dare and Know," by George S. Burleigh; "The Natural and the Spiritual," by Samuel Longfellow; "Washington," by John Weiss; "An Ordination," by the Editor; "The Nature and Object of a Church," by J. Vila Blake; "What the People Read," by S. C. Beach; "The Radical," by the Editor. The April number will contain an article by Samuel Johnson, "The Spiritual Promise of America. Adams & Co., Publishers, 21 Bromfield street, Boston.

*Demorest's Magazine*, for April, contains the Spring fashions, with illustrations and descriptions, besides some very sensible suggestions about dress in general. There is also a variety of other reading matter, music, and some practical suggestions about cooking, with good recipes, interesting to housekeepers. Publication office, 473 Broadway, N. Y. Terms, $3 per year.

OUR MUTUAL FRIEND, "Diamond Edition." Boston: Ticknor & Fields. The second volume of the Diamond Edition of Dickens's works, "Our Mutual Friend," with illustrations by Eytinge, has been issued. All who appreciate the faithful delineations of character so skillfully woven into romance by this popular novelist, will welcome this new and pleasing edition of the series of his works. The illustrations serve a very important part in introducing these inimitable characters to the reader. It is wonderful how much of human nature can be revealed by a few pencil strokes. The faces of the "Bird of Prey" and his innocent, faithful daughter, seem to tell the fearful tale of that eventful night. "The Veneering Dinner" is a picture of heartless formality, where the parties are eagerly fed with useless gossip. The good-natured, kindly faces of Mr. and Mrs. Boffin present quite another phase of character. "Podsnappery," the uncontrolled jealousy of "Bradley Headstone," the humility of "Riah," the earnest purpose of "John Harmon," the reckless frivolity of "Wrayburn," the forbidding selfishness of "Mrs. Wilfer," and other characters, are all effectively illustrated.

This novel of Mr. Dickens fully sustains the reputation of his other works. He neither repeats himself nor loses his power. Nor is it wanting in a healthy moral tone. Many faults and weaknesses of character are faithfully exposed. Miserly greed receives its just rebuke, while many a young girl who foolishly aspires to gain wealth by marriage, at whatever risk, may turn in disgust from the deceived Mrs. Lammle to the truer and happier life of Bella Wilfer.

THE TENT ON THE BEACH. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. Those who read Whittier's "Snow-Bound" with such a thrill of delight, will incline to a feeling of disappointment at first as they read "The Tent on the Beach." But a careful judgment of its contents will modify first impressions. Though it may not equal "Snow-Bound" in its word-pictures, it contains many choice gems of thought, with beautiful portrayals of the finer emotions. "The Tent on the Beach" is not a continuous poem, but rather a collection of poems, pleasantly arranged to harmonize under this title. It opens with a picture of Salisbury Beach, near Newbury, where the author and two friends, so happily described that they are easily identified, take a Summer rest:

They rested there, escaped awhile
From cares that wear the life away,
To eat the lotus of the Nile
And drink the poppies of Cathay—
To fling their loads of custom down,
Like drift-weed, on the sand-slopes brown,
And in the sea waves drown the restless pack
Of duties, claims, and needs that barked upon their track.

The fair singer who appears to them is an ideal character:

And there, on breezy morns, they saw
The fishing-schooners outward run,
Their low-bent sails in tack and flaw
Turned white or dark to shade and sun.
Sometimes, in calms of closing day,
They watched the spectral mirage play,
Saw low, far islands looming tall and nigh,
And ships, with upturned keels, sail like a sea the sky.

Sometimes a cloud, with thunder black,
Stooped low upon the darkening main,
Piercing the waves along its track
With the slant javelins of rain.
And when west-wind and sunshine warm
Chased out to sea its wrecks of storm,
They saw the prismy hues in their spray showers
Where the green buds of waves burst into white froth flowers.

And when along the line of shore
The mists crept upward chill and damp,
Stretched, careless, on their sandy floor
Beneath the flaring lantern lamp,
They talked of all things old and new,
Read, slept, and dreamed as idlers do;
And in the unquestioned freedom of the tent,
Body and o'er-taxed mind to healthful ease unbent.

Once, when the sunset splendors died,
And, trampling up the sloping sand,
In lines outreaching far and wide,
The white-maned billows swept to land,
Dim seen across the gathering shade,
A vast and ghostly cavalcade,
They sat around their lighted kerosene,
Hearing the deep bass roar their every pause between.

Then, urged thereto, the Editor
Within his full portfolio dipped,
Feigning excuse while searching for
(With secret pride) his manuscript.
His pale face flushed from eye to beard,
With nervous cough his throat he cleared,
And, in a voice so tremulous it betrayed
The anxious fondness of an author's heart, he read:

Then follow the "Wreck of Rivermouth" and other poems, some of which have already appeared in print. The reader, however, finds a new charm in them in their new setting in this little volume, with accompanying comments of the listeners on the beach. The inmates of the tent separate with the following:

He paused, and lo! far, faint, and slow
The bells in Newbury's steeples tolled
The twelve dead hours; the lamp burned low;
The singer sought her canvas fold.
One sadly said, "At break of day
We strike our tent and go our way."
But one made answer cheerily, "Never fear,
We'll pitch this tent of ours in type another year."

The remainder of the book contains a collection of "National Lyrics" and "Occasional Poems." Whittier, ever true to the spirit of liberty, is warmly appreciated, and will be still more so by future generations, for the noble service he has rendered in the elevation of oppressed humanity.

The book is neatly printed on tinted paper, and contains one hundred and seventy-two pages.

### *MUSICAL.*

Handel's grand oratorio, "Judas Maccabæus," was given, under the direction of Mr. L. F. Harrison, at Steinway Hall, on the evening of the 15th inst., to a very crowded house. Madame Parepa, Madame Ritter, Mr. George Simpson, Mr. J. R. Thomas, Mr. E. J. Connolly, organist, and Mr. G. W. Colby, pianist, appeared on the occasion, assisted by the New York Harmonic Society, Mr. F. L. Ritter conductor, and Theodore Thomas's full orchestra. The rendering of the oratorio was excellent throughout.

Mr. Harrison announces, as an appropriate termination of the Concert season of 1866-7, one of the most brilliant and successful ever given in this city, a grand Musical Festival, commencing on Monday, June 3d, 1867, and to continue one week. The best artists are engaged for the occasion, including Madame Parepa-Rosa, the New York Harmonic Society with chorus of four hundred, and full orchestra and military band. Many important works will be produced, among others, Mendelssohn's oratorio of "Elijah," Haydn's oratorio of "The Creation," Mendelssohn's "Hymn of Praise," and a new "Forty-sixth Psalm," written for the occasion by Mr. Ritter, for solo, chorus and orchestra.

The Richings English Opera Troupe, received with so much favor a few months since, have returned to the Olympic for a brief season. The "Bohemian Girl" and "Somnambula" have been given to full houses. Miss Richings is in excellent voice, and is well supported by Messrs. Campbell and Castle. The selections for next week will include, successively, "Maritana," "Linda," "Rose of Castile," "Fra Diavolo," "Daughter of the Regiment," and the "Bohemian Girl."

A Sunday-evening concert will be given on the 24th inst., at Steinway Hall, Mr. Harrison director, with Madame Canissa, Rosa, Mills, Colby, and Theodore Thomas's orchestra.

A very successful season of Italian opera is in progress at the new Academy of Music.

A COLORED HERO.—A newspaper correspondent, who was one of the passengers on board the steamboat David White which recently exploded on the Mississippi, relates the following incident of the terrible disaster:

"One glance showed the horrors of the situation, and added to all the rest, our part of the boat seemed to be settling rapidly. I noticed that the life boat was still safe on the hurricane deck and sprang down to take one more look for the ladies. The water was nearly up to the cabin floor, and just as I struck the guards, Mrs. Dr. Shaw, of Memphis, clasped my arm and asked if I could save her. I told her not to be frightened; I thought we would get off, and, climbing again on the roof, called on all the hands and waiters that were left to help me launch the life-boat. The first to respond to the call was one of the most horrible sights I saw during the day—a little negro boy, an engine greaser, stark naked except a piece of shirt, and scalded from his waist to his feet till the great flakes of bloody skin rolled down his legs every time he moved. He laid hold, saying as he did so: 'Ah, bossey, I'se most gone; I'se burnt all over; but dis boat must get in de river.' Heroic little negro! He was rescued, but they say he will die."

### *EQUAL RIGHTS MEETINGS.*

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, PARKER PILLSBURY, LOUISA JACOBS and SUSAN B. ANTHONY will speak as follows:

Fort Plain and Ilion, Monday, March 25.
St Johnsville, Tuesday, March 26.
Oswego, Tuesday and Wednesday, March 26 and 27.
Baldwinsville and Fulton, March 28.
Syracuse and Marcellus, March 29.

ELIZABETH A. KINGSBURY will lecture for the cause of Equal Rights in

Perry, N. Y., March 25.
Warsaw, N. Y., March 26.
Gainesville, N. Y., March 27.
Pike, N. Y., March 28.
Portageville, N. Y., March 29.
Nunda, N. Y., March 30.

### *FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE AMERICAN EQUAL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION.*

THE first annual meeting of the AMERICAN EQUAL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION will be held in the City of New York, at the Church of the Puritans, on Thursday and Friday, the 9th and 10th of May next, commencing on Thursday morning, at 10 o'clock.

The object of this Association is to secure Equal Rights to all American citizens, especially the Right of Suffrage, irrespective of race, color or sex.

American Democracy has interpreted the Declaration of Independence in the interest of slavery, restricting suffrage and citizenship to a *white male minority.*

The black man is still denied the crowning right of citizenship, even in the nominally free States, though the fires of civil war have melted the chains of chattelism, and a hundred battle-fields attest his courage and patriotism.

Half our population are disfranchised on the ground of sex; and though compelled to obey the law and taxed to support the government, they have no voice in the legislation of the country.

This Association then has a mission to perform, the magnitude and importance of which cannot be overestimated.

The recent war has unsettled all our governmental foundations. Let us see that in their restoration, all these unjust proscriptions are avoided. Let Democracy be defined anew, as *the government of the people,* AND THE WHOLE PEOPLE.

Let the gathering, then, at this anniversary be, in numbers and character, worthy, in some degree the demands of the hour. The black man, even the black soldier, is yet but half emancipated, nor will he be, until his full suffrage and citizenship *are secured to him in the Federal Constitution.* Still more deplorable is the condition of the black woman; and legally, that of the white woman is no better!

Shall the sun of the nineteenth century go down on wrongs like these, in this nation, consecrated in its infancy to justice and freedom? Rather let our meeting be pledge as well as prophecy to the world of mankind, that the redemption of at least one great nation is near at hand.

In behalf of the American Equal Rights Association,
LUCRETIA MOTT, President.
SUSAN B. ANTHONY, Cor. Secretary.
HENY B. BLACKWELL, Rec. Secretary.

New York, 12th March, 1867.

[Communications relating to this Anniversary, and donations in aid of its objects, to be addressed to SUSAN B. ANTHONY, 464 West Thirty-fourth street, New York.]


CARD.

ARTIFICIAL FEET AND LEGS,

For Amputations of the ankle-joint, or knee-joint; leg or thigh; the latest and most perfect devices. ARTIFICIAL HANDS AND ARMS, the most useful and beautiful invention of the kind. ARTIFICIAL FEET AND CASE, for shortened limbs by Hip Disease and other causes. SURGICAL SPLINT, OR CASE, for ununited fractures and excisions of the leg or thigh. APPARTUS FOR EXTREME EXCISION of the shoulder, and elbow-joints, arm and fore-arm, to restore them to usefulness. LATE VOLUNTEERS, AND REGULARS, U. S. ARMY AND NAVY are furnished (also with transportation) without charge, by commission of the SURGEON GENERAL U. S. ARMY. Every demand of improved, humane, and conservative surgery, and interest of the subject, is fulfilled, with LEGITIMATE APPARATUS, anatomically and physiologically constructed, and adapted to the condition of mutilated and disabled limbs, by E. D. HUDSON, M. D. CLINTON HALL, ASTOR PLACE, NEW YORK. *

# Miscellaneous Department.

## THE OLD AND NEW.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

Oh! sometimes gleams upon our sight,
Through present wrong, the eternal right!
And step by step, since time began,
We see the steady gain of man.

That all of good the past has had
Remains to make our own time glad,
Our common daily life divine,
And every land a Palestine.

We lack but open eye and ear
To find the Orient's marvels here—
The still, small voice in autumn's hush,
Yon maple wood the burning bush.

For still the new transcends the old,
In signs and tokens manifold;
Slaves rise up men; the olive waves
With roots deep set in battle graves.

Through the harsh noises of the day
A low, sweet prelude finds its way;
Through clouds of doubt and creeds of fear,
A light is breaking, calm and clear.

Henceforth my heart shall sigh no more
For olden time and holier shore;
God's love and blessing, then and there,
Are now, and here, and everywhere.

FOR THE STANDARD.

## EMIGRATION OF THE SALZBURGERS.

BY C. F. P.

Carlyle, in his Frederick the Great, has a captivating chapter upon this event, that thrilled all Germany and the Protestant world of 1732, with its singular, romantic and religious interest.

The *Salzburg* country (northeast slope of the Tyrol) is celebrated by tourists for its airy beauty, rocky mountains, smooth, green valleys, and swift, rushing streams.

Salzburg is a romantic city, far off among its beautiful mountains, shadowing itself in the Salza river, which rushes down into the Inn, and flows through it into the Danube. This lovely Salzburg region was one of the remote nooks to which Protestantism had been driven, by the sleek Jesuit fathers in serge habits, and terrible Wallenstein in chain armor, when the Thirty Years' War decided Austria on the Catholic side. [Before this war, there was a fair chance all Austria would become Protestant.]

For several generations, the unofficial religion had kept itself concealed and unnoticed among the quiet Salzburgers, who read their German Bibles, made wooden clocks, and took care of their pastures and cattle, as harmless people as breathed the vital air.

It was an evil hour for these good dissenters when, in 1727, the new Archbishop came to live in Salzburg, the Archbishop's city of Upper Austria. He was lean and rigid in his Orthodoxy, and determined to haul forth this Protestantism, hiding in his little bit of a sovereignty, and worry it to death as he thought he ought to do.

Law-terriers hunted through the green valleys, smelling out the Bibles and devout books in those humble homes, making lists of Bible-reading cottagers, dragging them to prison, fines, confiscation and tribulation if they would not cease reading. The peaceable Salzburgers, who were ready to doff their slouch hats, almost to mankind in general, were entirely obstinate in that matter of the Bible "Cannot, your Reverence; must not, dare not!" and went to prison—anywhere, rather, till the cry rose among them, "Let us sell our possessions and leave Salzburg." In their trial they thought of the staunch Protestant Frederick William, King of Prussia.

They sent two deputies—solid-hearted, thick, solid men—to him, at Berlin, able to answer for themselves and give real account of their cause.

His Majesty, busy with the betrothal of the Prince Frederick (afterwards the Great), found time to satisfy himself that the Salzburgers were good Protestants—of very pious, peaceable nature, suffering hard wrong—and dismissed the deputies with the cheering assurance, "Return, and say there shall be help." And straightway he laid strong, swift, steady hand on the business.

Frederick William wrote to the Catholic Kaiser, and the Protestant kings of England and Holland, that he should take effectual steps in behalf of the Salzburgers. He ordered vacant Prussian lands to be surveyed, and moneys laid up, and homes got ready for the poor, ousted, persecuted Salzburgers.

Nine huudred of them had been driven over the frontier, in the dead of Winter, gray-haired old men and feeble women among them, to seek quarters in the wide, unknown world at that inclement season. They had cowered in the Bavarian cities till the weather should mend, and Frederick William's arrangements were completed for them and their brethren.

Away in the northeast of Prussia, long years before, a pestilence had nearly depopulated fifty-two towns, and hundreds of thousands of fertile acres fell to waste, because the hands that ploughed them were swept away.

Frederick William, whose heart was set on industry and visible prosperity in his dominions, had invited colonists from Saxony and Switzerland to come and till and reap in this desolated part of Prussia. Thousands of families were already well nestled there, and there was still room for thousands more. So this Salzburg emigration will fit as by pre-established harmony, into the ancient Prussian sorrow, and "two afflictions well put together shall become a consolation," as the proverb promises.

February 2d, 1732, Frederick William's proclamation flew abroad over the world, brief, businesslike, cheering, "Come, ye poor Salzburgers, there are homes provided for you. Commissioners will take charge of your long march and you. Be kind, all Christian German princes, do not hinder them and me."

In a few days the first lot of emigrants, a thousand strong, fairly take the road, a long road and a strange—above five hundred miles before they get to Halle, within the Prussian border, and then seven hundred more to their new homes in the distant East. Men, women, infants and grandfathers are there—most of their property ruinously sold, their poor bits of preciosities and heir-looms made up into bundles, ticketed and stowed on the baggage-wagons. "Some have their own poor cart and horse to carry the old or the too young, those that cannot walk"—a pilgrimage like that of the Children of Israel, such a pilgrim caravan as was seldom heard of in those Western countries.* These poor bundles—the making of them up, the stowing of them; the pangs of simple hearts in those remote, native valleys; the tears that were not seen; the cries that were addressed to God only; and then at last the actual turning out of the poor caravan, staff in hand, no audible complaint from it, ready to march, and then marching on—who can think of it without emotion, sad, and yet in a sort blessed?

This lively, picturesque phenomenon was heard of at all German firesides, and filled the imagination in all European lands. "On their getting to the Anspach territory, there was so incredible a joy at the arrival of these exiled Brothers in the Faith that, in all places, even the smallest hamlets, the bells were set a-tolling, and nothing was heard but a peal of welcome from far and near."

At Bairenth, it was *Good Friday* when the pilgrims arrived. "They all went in a body to the church, and at coming out were one and all carried off to dinner, a very scramble arising among the townsfolk to get hold of Pilgrims and dine them. Vast numbers were carried to the Palace, the home of entertaining Wilhelmina, the favorite sister of Frederick the Great. One figures this lively lady busy among them, doing everything with spirit for her royal papa's poor pilgrims. "Their treatment was beyond belief. Not only dinner of the amplest quality and quantity, but much money added, and other gifts."

In this manner they march on from town to town—no end to people's kindness, some sobbing aloud, "Is this all the help we can give?" till, on the 30th of April, they reach the Brandenburg Gate at Berlin, where the King himself and Queen and official persons are in waiting to receive these poor foot-sore mortals with glad welcome. "Next Sunday, after sermon, the Salzburgers were publicly catechised in church, and all the world could hear their pertinent answers, given often in the very Scripture texts or express words of Luther."

Her Majesty was charity and grace combined among the exiles, and had large parties of them over to supper, in the fine gardens of Monbijou, and gave them Bibles among other gifts, where they lacked them through the Archbishop's persecution. On one occasion, she picked out a handsome lass, and had painter Pesne over to take her portrait in her Tyrolese hat. This portrait thenceforth shone on the walls of Monbijou, and the Tyrolese hat was taken up by fashion and much worn by the ladies of Berlin.

The Salzburgers had five hundred long miles to the end of their journey. The men were allowed the whole way four groschen a day for road expenses, the women each three groschen, and every child two. At length they were at the farther end of the long march, where they found all ready; tight cottages, tillable fields, all implements furnished, and stock even to "*Federvieh*" or Chanticleer with a modicum of hens. Old neighbors and such as liked each other were put together, fields grew green again, desolate scrubs and scrags yielding to grass and corn. Wooden clocks came to view, and old trades were revived in those new localities; and a useful, solid population was permanently added to Prussia in this real idyllic way. Seventeen thousand fared steadily forward upon their four groschen a day in the two or three years that the emigration lasted.

It cost Frederick William, they say, "ten tons of gold," or £150,000. But he lived to see it amply repaid. A wise, skilful investment in the Bank of Nature herself. Goethe, when very little, heard much talk about this strange Salzburg pilgrimage that had happened twenty years before, for Frankfort had begged to have some of the Pilgrims come their way that they might help them too. In middle life he wrote his pleasant "*Herman and Dorothea*," the tribute of his genius, to the memory of *The Salzburgers*.

* Readers of The Standard will be reminded of the "Contraband" pilgrims who first flocked to the protection of Gen. Butler at Hampton, Va., with their miscellaneous bundles, pictured graphically in *Harper's Weekly*, and described by the army letter-writers; also the great trains of them, with their "poor cart and horse," that sought refuge from the deeper wrongs than these old Salzburgers ever had, under the wing of Sherman's great march through Georgia.

## A PROMISE THAT WAS KEPT.

One evening four German students at a University were enjoying themselves in an upper room of a little hotel. They had four instruments, and were employing themselves in making music after the hard labors of the day. There was a pause in their music, but no sooner had they ceased playing than they heard an old man playing a violin beneath their window in the street. They went to the window and looked out, watching him until he had ceased playing. One of them threw out a little piece of money, and said to him, laughing: "Here, poor Peter, this is all we have for you now; come again some other time."

"Yes," said another, "come again in a year from now."

"Then we will give you a little house for a present," said the third.

"Yes, in the middle of a garden," said the fourth.

The old man was struck with wonder at such a promise. His long bright hair shone brighter in the light of the lanterns which hung out at a neighboring restaurant. He looked up at the window and said, after a moment's reflection: "Young people, are you in earnest in what you say to me? I hope you are not making light of an old man."

"Indeed we are in earnest," replied Ernest, with excited voice; and his three companions called upon God to witness their seriousness.

"Farewell, then," replied the old man; "I take my leave of you. One year from to-day, at this same hour, expect me to come and play a tune beneath this window. Farewell; may the Almighty one, whose name you have called upon, bless you in your kindness!"

The old man went off after invoking this blessing upon them. The students closed the window, took their instruments again in their hands, and after having played three or four lively tunes, seemed to forget all that had occurred. Ernest said to them, however, after the space of about half an hour: "You seem to be very quiet. I cannot be; for I have made a promise that I would give something which I have not got."

"What promise?" answered one of his light-hearted companions.

"The promise of a house and a garden."

A loud laugh was the response that he met with, and the students separated. They met again on the following evening, and during their interview Ernest called to mind the promise of the night before. They made light of him, and told him that he was foolish to pay any more attention to it. "Then," said he: "I don't see where your consciences are, if you can make a promise and break your word."

"How can we fulfill any promise of that kind?" said Christopher. "Our parents are all poor and have no more than they can do to send us to the University. How, then, can they help us to buy a house and a garden for a foolish old man? Good night, comrades; I wish you as pleasant a sleep as I shall have."

But this kind of argument did not affect Ernest much; for he could not help thinking that he was compelled to keep his bargain. He was the poorest one of the group; for his mother was a plain widow, and she made her living by washing. The promise that he had made deeply affected him, and he left the University for a week, so that he might go home and tell his mother the pledge that he had made to the old musician. After he had told her, she replied: "Keep it, my son, keep it, if it costs you your life."

"That is what I shall try to do, mother, and I hope I shall have your prayers."

Ernest returned to the University and told his friends that they must seriously think of buying the old man a house and garden. He went to a neighboring village one day, and found that he could get a neat little house and garden for two thousand guldens. That was a large sum for those poor students to think of paying, but through the influence of Ernest, the other three gradually became convinced that it was their promise. The four resolved that in one year from the time that the pledge was made, the old man should have his house and garden, if it was in their power to get it for him.

They must leave the University—a sad proceeding for them. They came to the conclusion to go through the country, and give concerts; for really this appeared to them to be the only way possible to gain any money. Even by pursuing this course there appeared to be a poor prospect to get a large sum. Still they resolved to do their best. They closed their books, put their instruments in the little bags, and set out on foot to give concerts in the villages through which they might pass. Ernest, before leaving, exacted a promise of the man who owned the house and lot which he had looked at, that he would not sell it under six months to anybody, and that if he would promise to take it at the end of that time he might have it, though the money need not be paid under a year. Week after week passed by, and the students slowly proceeded on their way. Their expenses were not heavy; but their income was certainly small, too. Nine months and a half passed by, and still they had but little above seven hundred guldens. It was a great question with them how the remaining thirteen hundred could be raised. They were spending one day at a country town, and a nobleman living in a large castle a few miles distant was seeking musicians to attend the wedding of his daughter, who was to be married in three or four days. Fortunately enough for the students, the nobleman employed them for the occasion. The marriage ceremonies took place, and by and by it was time for the music to begin. The students had trained themselves very carefully for that evening, and their selections were certainly of a very high order. During the course of the festivities it was noticed that the nobleman became very sad. His face wore a melancholy appearance, and those who stood nearest to him saw him weeping. What could have caused him to be melancholy at such a time as that? One of the pieces that these musicians had played was his mother's favorite melody. She had often sang it to him many years ago, and he had not heard it since, until the students played it. It was enough to make him sorrowful, and it drew these students to his heart in such a way that he could not express his feelings. They had recalled to his memory a piece of music which he had never been able to find in any music store, and which it was worth a fortune for him to hear.

I must now make my story short. The nobleman kept the four students in his castle two weeks, became acquainted with them very fully, and learned their object in leaving the University to give concerts. He supplied them with three thousand guldens, and told them he would pay their expenses at the University for four years, and that they might have the privilege of making drafts on him at any time.

Their fortune was better than they had reason to expect. Ernest had already written to the owner of the house and garden that he might expect them to take it, so that it was now engaged.

The students returned to the University and reached there just a few weeks before the end of the year when the house must be ready for the owner. On the evening of the day when the old man promised to appear, he stood below the window in the bright moonlight, playing on his violin. He was true to his word, and expected the promise to be kept. The young men went down to invite him up, and told him all that they had done. They showed him the deed for his place and gave it to him. On the following day he formally took possession of it, and they supplied it with furniture and groceries for housekeeping.

The young men felt that they were amply repaid for their faithfulness to their word, by the gratitude and joy of the old man. But they were not only repaid in feelings; they were more than repaid even in money.

Fourteen years after that time that place came into their possession; for the old man had died and bequeathed it to them in his will. That part of the town rose suddenly in value. Many things contributed to its increased value, which I will not enumerate. It is enough to say that in seventeen years from the time the four students gave the deed of that house and garden to the old musician, the same property which had cost two thousand guldens was worth eighty thousand. The students, therefore, were not merely paid in heart, but also in money. They had kept their word, and the memory of being faithful to their word even to the poor old man who had no power to compel them to be true to it, was a pleasant memory as long as they lived.

## THE CHILDREN'S ROOM.

A SOLILOQUY OF THE EVENING WATCHMAN.

Forty little shoes, all set in a row,
Side by side on the old bureau;
The little owners have gone to bed;
A pillow holds each sleepy head,

Twenty little dresses hung in a row,
With little red stockings swinging below.
The little wearers are wrapped in sleep;
And I am here their watch to keep.

Twenty little throats—O tell me how?
All warbling at once in glee just now;
But all is hushed. Methinks I seem
While listening here, to hear them dream.

Twenty little dreamers; what do *they* care
What the future in store has for them to share?
They dream of naught but their gambols, I deem;
So let's not awake them, but let them dream.

Looking at the Bright Side.—Here is a letter from a wife in Massachusetts to her husband in California. She don't intend going through the world with the blues:

My dear Husband: As it is now some time since you left for California, I suppose you would be glad to hear how we are getting along in your absence. I am happy to say we are enjoying very good health on the whole. Just at present two of the boys have got the small pox, Amanda Jane has got the typhus fever, Betsy is down with the measles, Samuel got hooked by a cow the other day, and little Peter has just chopped off three of his fingers with a hatchet. It is a mercy he didn't chop them all of. With these trifling exceptions we are all well and getting along nicely. You needn't be at all anxious about us. I almost forgot to say that Sarah Matilda eloped last week with a tin peddler. Poor girl! She's been waiting for a chance, and I'm glad she's married at last. She needn't have taken the trouble to elope though, for I'm sure I was glad enough to have her go. She was a great eater, and I find baked beans don't go off near so fast as they did. The way that girl would dip into pork and beans was a caution to the rest of the family. The cow took it into her head to run away which was very fortunate, I am sure, for the barn caught fire last night and was consumed. I was in hopes that the house would go too, for it's inconvenient; but the wind was the wrong way, so it didn't receive much injury. Some boys broke into the orchard the other day and stripped all the fruit trees. I am very glad of it, for if they hadn't I presume the children would have made themselves ill.

A Paris Wedding Incident.—The other day a wedding took place at the Madeleine Church, between a very noble gentleman and lady, and among the crowd that gathered outside to see the splendid bridal party was a miserable beggar about twelve years old. Now in Paris every one who has not something to sell is carried off to a police house—if they stop in the streets as this one did—and accordingly an officer was just asking her if she had anything to dispose of, and the poor thing was trembling in every limb for fear of imprisonment, when a sweet little girl, a sister of the bride, happened to overhear the policeman as she passed by, and to save the ragged offender, she quickly placed in her hand a superb bouquet she was carrying, and answering for her said, "Yes, she has these flowers but she asks too much and I cannot buy them." As she turned to go on, an old gentleman, who saw and understood it all, stepped forward, and putting a gold piece in the poor child's palm, remarked, "I will give twenty francs for it," and presented it to the amiable little angel whose goodness had been more fragrant and beautiful than the choicest blossom that ever graced a garden.

A Rare Wife.—The following incident is related in the "black country," in connection with the recent snow storm. At Mount Pleasant, a little village between Shifnall and Wellington, there lived an aged couple named Shepherd, the husband being seventy-one years of age, and the wife one year younger. Shepherd is engaged as a furnace tender at the Old Park Company's works, and on Saturday night week he went on duty as usual, his time being up at six on the following morning. It will be remembered that during the night of Saturday week snow fell heavily, accompanied by violent gusts of wind, the snow forming deep drifts in exposed places. The old woman, on wakening early on Sunday morning, perceived this state of things, and became anxious for the safety of her husband, who would have to cross two or three fields on his way home. She got up, lit the fire, and prepared everything for her husband's breakfast, and when all this was done, found that there was yet an hour before he would be home. She thereupon lit a lantern, and, taking with her a shovel, set to work, and cleared a path through the snow to the foundry, where her husband was at work, a distance of a quarter of a mile, completing her task in time to enable the old man "to walk home comfortably," as she said.—*Canada paper.*

Death of an Antique.—The Inverness (Scotland) *Courier* records the death of an eccentric individual named Hugh Miller, at the advanced age of 82. All Hugh's acts bore the stamp of eccentricity. He still adhered to the ancient style of tying the hair in a cue, and wore the broad blue bonnet in vogue nearly a century ago. His farmhouses were of the most primitive construction, quite in keeping with the huts of Barra or Uist, but certainly rare to be seen at the present day in any part of the mainland of Scotland. The door of Hugh's house had to do service for both bipeds and quadrupeds, the owner and his cattle occupying respectively the opposite ends of the same domicile, while the poultry were allowed to roost or lie in either end as their instincts dictated. To the modern modes of agriculture Hugh was a perfect stranger, adhering rigidly to the good old system of tillage which obtained in this country some sixty years ago. He plowed shallow, sowed his grain at least seven weeks or more later than the ordinary time for doing so, and as might be expected, reaped a deficient crop at a corresponding late season in Autumn. Hugh's motto being that "the worst farmer had his chance of getting a good year as well as the best."

The New Comet.—At the last sitting of the Academy of Sciences in Paris, M. Leverrier communicated details of the observation of the new comet discovered at Marseilles on the 22d ultimo, by M. Stephan, but reobserved with greater care on the 25th ultimo, at 55 minutes past eight, mean time of Marseilles. At that precise hour the right ascension was 2h. 33m. 52-5s., the polar distance 74 deg. 26 min. horary motion in right ascension 5-17 sec. in polar distance 1-29 min. M. Stephan describes the comet as being exceedingly brilliant, of a roundish shape, and a strongly marked nucleus. It nevertheless appeared so condensed on one side as to lead him to suspect that there might be something like a fan-shaped tail on the other. He also thinks that the comet is gradually increasing in brilliancy. M. Leverrier said that it could not be observed at Paris owing to the state of the weather.

George the Third and His Spelling-Book.—The correspondence of King George the Third with Lord North has just been published in London. It may please Americans to be informed that their obstinate and bigoted enemy did not know how to spell, and that some of his errors are as amusing as those of Thackeray's Mr. Yellowplush. In one case he speaks of an offence as of "the blackest *die*." Afterwards he announces that "the *dye* is cast." Other specimens of his spelling are these: toutch, addopt, aleviate, shaddow, and cirrounds. With all his horror of innovation, he still spelt it with a single *n*.

The Antiquity of "Yankee Doodle."—A correspondent of the New York *Evening Post*, writing from Spain, says:

Some time since, when Mr. Perry, Secretary of the American Legation at Madrid, was in one of the Basque provinces, he heard a band playing their old national airs. The Basques have preserved whatever is peculiar to them,—their language, their customs, and many of their political rights, from the earliest period in which they are known to history; their national music is claimed to be of the same antiquity. After the band had played several other airs it struck up Yankee Doodle, the very tune, in every note, which is so familiar to American ears. Mr. Perry immediately claimed it as our national air. "It is one of our old tunes," said a gentleman to whom he spoke, "and I can convince you of the fact. For hundreds of years it has been a popular air among us." The gentleman afterwards made good his assertion by showing Mr. Perry a manuscript of great antiquity which contained the identical musical notes of "Yankee Doodle."

National Cemeteries.—The Tennessee *Staats Zeitung* (German) says that there is at present a proposition before the Legislature proposing to bestow on the United States full jurisdiction over the following national property, viz:

At Memphis, a graveyard of twenty-five acres, with 22,000 graves. There are also cemeteries of the same kind from Columbus, Ky., to Helena, Ark., all along the Mississippi.

At Fort Donelson, a graveyard of twenty acres, with 18,000 graves.

At Stone river, a graveyard of twelve acres, with almost 5,000 graves.

At Chattanooga, one of seventy-five acres, with 12,000 dead.

At Knoxville, one of four acres, with 3,000 dead.

This is a melancholy roll, but it embraces only a very small portion of all who are laid in graves by the hand of treason, and who died in upholding it.


REMOVAL NOTICE.

The office of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society has been removed from No. 5 South Fifth street, to the old stand, No. 107 North Fifth street, where it was formerly located for upwards of twenty years. Specimen numbers of the Anti-Slavery Standard furnished and new subscriptions received as above.
BENJAMIN C. BACON, Corresponding Secretary.

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S. R. WELLS, Editor.

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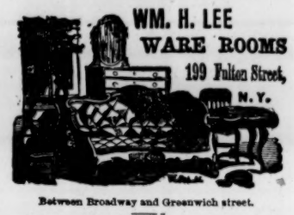
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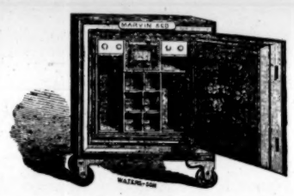
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